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STUDIES
ON
THE HAVELOK-TALE

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

HARALD E. HEYMAN.

BY PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPSALA
TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN LECTURE ROOM VIII,
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Upsala, May 1903.

HARALD HEYMAN.

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stund ritter Leuwen, des Hertzogen sun von Burges, das er
zu letst ein Künigreich besass. Grüninger, Strassburg, 1514.

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Other references will easily be understood.

Introduction.

In the following treatise on the *Havelok-tale*, I use this term as a comprehensive one for all the old traditions in connection with Havelok, *i. e.* of all the more or less fully developed versions of the tale of him, hitherto known, and of such passages in early writers as touch on one or other of the events of these traditions, or allude to the tale in general.

The Havelok-tale as a whole has not yet been dealt with by scholars, but various parts of it have been made the subject of investigation from different points of view.

In the last third of the 18th century TYRWITT¹ in his »Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer» quotes Robert of Brunne, who »also mentions 'a Rime' concerning Gryme the Fisher, the founder of Grymesby; Havelok the Dane and his wife Goldeburgh, daughter to King Athelwold: who all now, together with their bard,

— illacrymabiles

Urgentur ignotigue longâ

Nocte. —»

Tyrwhitt makes no allusions to the French versions of the

¹ Chaucer, XXXIV, note 51. — Körting, p. 163 sq. — Cf. Madden, p. I. Skeat, E. E. T. S. p. I; Cl. Pr. p. V.

tale, a fact which renders it probable that he was ignorant of their existence.¹

RITSON did not know the English poem either, but was aware of the version of Gaimar. In his introductory »Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy»² he quotes »the learned Tyrwhitt», and, after a short allusion to the poem »Argentile and Curan», which forms the 20th chapter of Warner's »Albion's England», he adds: »— — — — in a part of a French metrical romance, upon the history of Engleland, by Geoffrey Gaimar — — — — the story itself is certainly preserve'd — — —.»

Ritson's work was published in 1802, and as late as 1814 Gaimar was only known through the Royal manuscript.³

The English »Lay of Havelok» was discovered by SIR FREDRICK MADDEN and published by him for the first time in a volume, entitled »*The ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane, accompanied by the French Text etc. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. London MDCCCXXVIII.*»

»The French Text» of this volume means the »Lai d'Haveloc» and the version of Gaimar. These versions of the Havelok-tale as well as that of the »*Lambeth interpolation*» then appeared in print for the first time, as far as we know.

The »Introduction» of Madden's is the first investigation bearing on the Havelok-tale. It contains a variety of historical statements, which, thanks to the author's thorough knowledge

¹ Although Gaimar's »Estorie des Engles» was known to him. Cf. Hist. Littéraire XIII. p. 63.

² Metrical Romances I, p. LXXXVII sqq.

³ Cf. Hist. Littéraire XIII, p. 64: »Dans le seul manuscrit connu de cette histoire des rois anglo-saxons. — — —.»

of early English literature, are extremely valuable and of great importance to the student. For some of Madden's opinions others have been substituted since, as the knowledge of the mediæval history of literature grew and was placed on a more scholarly basis. Such is especially the case with the view he held on the interdependence of the Anglo-Norman versions of the tale.

On account of the scarcity of copies of the Roxburghe Club edition PROFESSOR SKEAT reedited the English text for the Early English Text Society in 1868 in a volume entitled »*The Lay of Havelok the Dane*» (Extra series No. 4).¹

§§ 1—19 of Skeat's »Preface» are in all essential² respects based on the »Introduction» of Madden. From § 20 onwards the preface is the original work of the editor himself.³

In 1901 the Middle English version of Havelok was re-edited under the title of »*Havelok*» by F. HOLTHAUSEN as vol. I of »*Old and Middle English Texts, edited by L. Morsbach and F. Holthausen, London, New York and Heidelberg, 1901*. In the short »Preface» of this volume the editor offers a valuable list of bibliographical references.

The same text was once more printed by Skeat. In the »*Introduction*» to this volume: »*The Lay of Havelok the Dane, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1902*», the editor has profited greatly by the results obtained since 1868.

¹ »A later edition (which has not been accessible to me) was issued with a few corrections and additions in 1889» (Cf. § 2, p. VI of the edition of 1902).

² Cf. p. III, note 1.

³ Cf. p. XXIII, note 1. As, in his edition of 1902, Skeat has not kept to some of the opinions offered in those paragraphs, it is unnecessary to mention them here.

As mentioned above, *Gaimar's version* of the Havelok-tale was printed by Madden. The next reprint occurs in H. PETRIE'S: »*Monumenta Historica Britannica*», Vol. I, London 1848, p. 764 sqq. The editor makes some short remarks (p. 765 note b), bearing on the interdependence of this version and the *Lai d'Haveloc*. The version of Gaimar was further edited by TH. WRIGHT in his edition of »*The Anglo-Norman Metrical Chronicle of Geoffrey Gaimar*», *Publications of the Carlton Society* 2, London 1850. The part of the »Preface» which concerns the Havelok-tale is quoted from Petrie.

The text chiefly used by me is the one published by SIR THOMAS DUFFES HARDY and CHARLES TRICE MARTIN as No. 91 of the collection: »*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores Or Chronicles And Memorials Of Great Britain And Ireland During The Middle Ages*»; the special title being: »*Lestorie Des Engles Solum La Translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar*», Vol. I: Text; Vol. II: Translation, London 1888, 1889. The preface of vol. I treats of »the manuscripts in which Gaimar's work is preserved and of the language employed by him», and that of vol. II of »historical matters connected herewith».

Lai d'Haveloc le Danois was printed by Madden; by FR. MICHEL: »*Lai d'Haveloc le Danois*», Paris 1833; by Th. Wright in his edition of Gaimar: *Appendix pp. 3-34*, and in the above mentioned volume of »Chronicles and Memorials».

The Lambeth interpolation was published by Madden, and by Skeat in his editions of the English romance.

The principal works dealing with the Havelok-tale from a historical point of view are the following.

KRISTIAN KÖSTER: *»Sagnet om Havelok Danske», Kjöbenhavn 1868*. This is a small treatise, containing a full account of the chief passages of the English romance and of the Anglo-Norman versions, with some historical notes on the origin of the tale, principally based on Madden. Köster is, as far as I know, the first author who points out the etymological connection of the two names Havelok and Olof.

GUSTAF STORM: *»Havelok the Dane and the Norse King Olaf Kuaran»*. *Kristiania Videnskabselskabs forhandlinger 1879* (reprinted in Engl. Studien III, 1880). This is a most important essay. Storm proves, without quoting Köster, that the two names mentioned correspond etymologically, and, owing to this correspondence, his opinion is, that *»the identification of the poetical Aveloc Cuaran and the historical Olave Cuaran is proved»*. Besides this, Storm gives other valuable hints, especially concerning the occurrence of the name of Birkabein in the English romance.

MAX KUPFERSCHMIDT: *»Die Haveloksage bei Gaimar und ihr Verhältniss zum Lai d'Havelok»*. *Romanische Studien IV, 1880*. The aim of this essay is to prove that neither of the two Anglo-Norman versions is derived from the other, but that they both emanate from a joint source. The pedigree of Kupferschmidt's has, in this point, been adopted by later investigators, but the place assigned by him to the Lambeth interpolation as an offshoot from Gaimar's version has been altered.

A very important essay is the article, entitled *Havelok* in H. L. D. WARD'S celebrated *»Catalogue of Romances in the Dep't of Mss. in the British Museum»*. Vol. I, London 1883. The French versions of the Havelok-tale constitute the predominant subject of this learned investigation. The author at-

tempts to find the historical foundations of the legend, and comes to similar results as Storm. In the discussion of the relation between the Anglo-Norman versions, Ward makes no allusion to Kupferschmidt, his idea being, that the Lai d'Haveloc is »simply enlarged from Gaimar's version».

It is the merit of PUTNAM to have arranged a pedigree of the four principal versions of the Havelok-tale, which must still be considered valid. According to this pedigree, published in his essay: »*The Lambeth version of Havelok*». *Modern Language Association of America, Vol. XV: 1, New Series VIII: 1, Baltimore 1900*, the version of Gaimar, the Lai d'Haveloc and the Lambeth interpolation all three emanate from the same source.

A. AHLSTRÖM: »*Studier i den Fornfranska Lais-Litteraturen*», *Upsala 1892*, makes some remarks on the Lai d'Haveloc, stating the difficulty of identifying the characters of the tale. Ahlström, as Ward before him, is inclined to derive the origin of certain passages from Celtic traditions.

The accounts of the Havelok-tale given by the usual histories of literature will be touched on by me in the course of the present treatise. With regard to other works that I have consulted, I refer to the »Bibliography» at the beginning of this volume. (Cf. also the lists of Holthausen and Skeat, Cl. Pr.)

The aim of my essay is to give as complete a view as possible of the Havelok-tale from a literary and historical point of view. I have occupied myself with philological and linguistic questions only as far as this has been absolutely required to strengthen the evidence derived from other sources.

I. Anglo-Scandinavians

and

Normans.

The final union of Denmark and England under the Danish king Sven Tveskæg and his successors was, as is well known, preceded by almost 200 years of strife and struggle between the old inhabitants of England, the Anglo-Saxons, and the invading Danes.

The territories which the Danes, from the beginning of the invasion in the middle of the 9th century, had conquered, and „where the Scandinavian settlers were most numerous, were the counties on both sides of the Wash, especially Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire — — —.”¹ This district, almost bounded to the W. and S. by the old Roman highway Watlingastræt,² became the centre of the Danelaw (Danelagen), and throughout the Danish period in England the population of these provinces formed the backbone of the Danish regime.

These two hundred years of strife and struggle (the 9th and 10th centuries) no doubt inspired a much greater number

¹ Loanwords I, p. 21.

² Worsaae, Eoöring, p. III sq. — Loanwords II, p. 266.

of songs and romances than the few scattered pieces of English war-poetry that have been preserved down to our days.

The poetical literary documents that represent the time of these wars are few and far between. In the great *Chronicle*, in itself a wonderful and unique document, we find some poems of which the most renowned are »The song of Brunnanburgh»,¹ »The deliverance of the five boroughs»,² and a fragment of a poem of the same kind as those, viz. »The death of Byrhtnoth.»³

This is all. All these poems — and some few others⁴ — refer to events that took place before the final conquest by the Danes. They are all characteristic witnesses to the hatred and hostile feelings of the old inhabitants of the country towards the northern invaders, and sing the praise of Anglo-Saxon heroes.

But from the end of the 10th century, when the amalgamation of the Danes with the Anglo-Saxons, by far their superiors in numbers and civilization, had made considerable progress, up to the time of Cnut, when the political relations between Denmark and England culminated, there is no poetical literary monument preserved which reflects these events. — The old vikings loved to celebrate their noble deeds and victories in poems, and there is, as WOORSAAE says,⁵ no reason to suppose that in the new country they were not equally

¹ A. S. Chr. A. D. 937. — Körting 34.

² A. S. Chr. A. D. 949. — Körting 34.

³ A. D. 991. — Körting 33. — T. Brink, *Gesch.* I, p. 117 sq.

⁴ T. Brink. *Gesch.* I, p. 123.

⁵ Minder, p. 136 sq.

desirous to hear their deeds magnified in the songs and sagas of the poets.

The Danish conquest of England, the vicissitudes under which it took place, the social and political revolutions it brought about, must have been not only capable of inspiring poetical productions but were, moreover, exceedingly well adapted to poetical treatment. — The fact that we do not possess any contemporary literary documents representing the poetical life of this time (for the profane English poetical literature from the end of the 10th century down to the time of Layamon in the beginning of the 13th is very poor) does not, in any way, prove that tales and romances were not current and popular among the people. On the contrary: from what was written later on, in the 13th and 14th centuries, it is clear that many a tale, saga or romance existed, which may be called Anglo-Danish; and this expression finds its justification in the fact, that not only the poets who sung were Danes, more or less naturalized in England, but also that the subjects of which they treated referred to Anglo-Danish relations.

When on the death of the last Danish king, Hardacnut, Edward the Confessor, who had for years lived and been educated in Normandy,¹ returned to England as king, he at once showed his French sympathies. It is well known that, after a last, futile attempt by the national party to restore the national independence of the English, the country was conquered by the Normans in 1066, at which time its power of resistance had been greatly weakened by the perpetual wars and especi-

¹ Cf. Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 106.

ally at this very moment by the Norwegian invasion under Harald Hardraade.

In contrast to the Danes, who in spite of their victories had never been capable of imbuing the Anglo-Saxons with any essential and enduring impression of Danish intellectual life,¹ the Normans succeeded in imposing on the conquered people a civilization, that for more than 200 years ruled the intellectual life of England and left an indelible impression.²

This is not the place to pursue the development of the Anglo-Norman civilization in general, nor to enter upon a detailed review of the revival of the literary life in England during the Norman period. It will be sufficient for our purpose to point out that the Norman civilization of the 12th century changed almost every phase of the intellectual life of the English.³ The intellectual leaders, and the poets admitted at court, were to be found almost exclusively among the ruling classes of the population,⁴ whilst the national traditions from Anglo-Danish times and the national language still lived on, as it were, on sufferance, but with a life, however, that was strong enough later on, in the 13th and 14th centuries, to put forth new shoots, and once more to develop into a rich national literature.

The Normans, who had inherited from their Scandinavian forefathers the taste for and delight in romance and saga, and

¹ On the special influence exercised by the Northern languages on Middle English, cf. *Loanwords*, I, II.

² On the influence of the French language on the English, cf. Behrens, *Beiträge*. — Vising, *Franska språket* I, II.

³ Vising, *Franska språket* I, p. 15, 17.

⁴ Vising, *Franska språket* II, p. 7 sq., 10 sq.

from the French the vivid interest for literary work, transplanted their literary activity on English ground, on their occupation of the country.

But in consequence of the discontinuance of their connection with France and with the French literary ideals of the time, and of the intimate contact with the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish — in a word English — traditions, the insular Anglo-Norman spirit displayed a development in many respects essentially different from that of the continental French Norman.¹ The popular and national Norman poetry was in England replaced to a great extent by the adoption by the Anglo-Normans of English popular traditions.²

The influence exercised by the vikings on these popular traditions, which, domesticated in England already very early, may be called national English, is obvious. There are several series or, rather, spheres of English traditions, consisting of echoes of historical events mixed with the products of popular imagination, the origins of which date back to centuries before the Norman invasion, although in the most cases we have received the first literary documents from the pens of Anglo-Norman poets and, in other cases, it has been proved that the later English versions are based on earlier Anglo-Norman ones, that have been lost. — No doubt the tradition about King Horn in the various English and French versions is entirely of Germanic origin.³ When Morsbach entitles his treatise *Die angebliche Originalität des frühmittelenglischen 'King Horn'* and

¹ T. Brink, *Gesch.* I, p. 157. — Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 118.

² T. Brink, *Gesch.* I, p. 187 sqq., 227. — Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 109 sq., 114, 118. — Gröbers *Grundr.* II: 1, p. 471.

³ Morsbach, *King Horn*, p. 298. — Körting, p. 99.

shares the opinion of older scholars, »dass die gesammte me. Litteratur, soweit wir sie kennen, kein einziges sicheres Beispiel einer originalen englischen Romanze aufzuweisen hat»,¹ I think it is well to accentuate the fact that these doubts respecting the originality of the romances refer to the question of literary documents, and not to the popular traditions themselves from which the romances originated.²

¹ Morsbach, *King Horn*, p. 298.

² *King Horn*: Cf. Pauls Grundr. II; p. 624 sqq. — Gröbers Grundr. II: 1, p. 573, footnote 3. — Körting, p. 97. — *Guy of Warwick*: Pauls Grundr. II, p. 636. — Gröbers Grundr. II: 1, p. 776, footnote 1. — Tanner, *Guy von Warwick*, p. 47. — Körting, p. 97. — *Sir Beris of Hamton*: Pauls Grundr. II, p. 645. — Gröbers Grundr. II: 1, p. 572, 3; 811. — Körting, p. 100. — Bibl. Normannica VII, p. cxcv sq. (Suchier's Nachtrag). — *Waltheof* (Rei Waldef): T. Brink, *Gesch. I*, p. 188. — Wülker, *Gesch.* p. 81. — Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 113. — Vising, *Franska Språket I*, p. 30, note 1. — Ahlström, *Lais-Litt.*, pp. 32, 142.

II. General Remarks on the Tradition.

Classification of the Versions.

Analyses of the Tale.

The traditions on which the *Havelok-tale*, as extant in the preserved versions, is based, consist partly of pseudo-historical elements, *i. e.* of romantic renderings of historical events, and partly of such elements as belong to the world of imagination. GASTON PARIS reckons the Havelok-tale among the »romans (d'aventure) dont la scène est en Occident et qui racontent des histoires à peu près vraisemblables». ¹ The last words are justified by, and refer to, the fact that some of the passages of the tale *might* be based on actual facts, though they seem more likely to be nothing else than fictitious inventions — we are at all events unable to trace them — whereas other passages are myth pure and simple.

The Havelok-tale belongs to the class of Middle English heroic legends that treat of some subject largely based on national history. ² The *Anglo-Danish* folk-traditions that gave

¹ Manuel, p. 107.

² Cf. Körtting, p. 96 sq.

rise to the tale of Havelok did, no doubt, originate in connection with historical events of the latter half of the 10th century. They seem likely to have been current among the population of the once predominantly Danish provinces of England, and to have been popular in the true sense of the word. There are in the Havelok-tale but few and unimportant allusions to the chivalrous conceptions of the Middle Ages. It seems evident that the gleemen, who kept up the traditions about Havelok and handed them down to their descendants, belonged chiefly to the classes of the population that remained almost unaffected by the literary taste of the time, as exemplified in the courtly poetry.¹

The earliest literary documents extant in which the Havelok-tale is preserved are written by Anglo-Norman poets, at a period about a century and a half later than the time to which the chief statements of the tale may be referred. The Anglo-Normans tried, as was the fashion then, to connect the tale with the famous cycle of Arthur. But in the English lay, which is younger than the oldest of the Anglo-Norman versions by about a century and a half, there is no trace of the Arthurian legend. This circumstance, in connection with the fact that the historical frame, in which the diverse legendary motives of the tale are inserted, is a thoroughly national one, tends to prove, that the development of the tale from its origin was confined entirely to popular traditions and that, in spite of the French influence on English literature, it continued to live independant of the literary ideals of the time.

The versions extant of the Havelok-tale may be divided into two classes:

¹ Cf. Wülker, *Gesch.*, p. 96.

I: *Complete versions, based on lost originals.*

1. The version of *Gaimar*, inserted in his chronicle »*Estorie des Engles*», compiled in the middle of the 12th century.

2. The *Lai d'Havelok le Danois*, anonymous, from the beginning of the 13th century.

3. The *Lay of Havelok the Dane*, anonymous, from the beginning of the 14th century.

4. An anonymous interpolation in the *Lambeth* copy of the translation by Robert Manning of Brunne of the Chronicle of Piers de Langtoft, from the middle of the 14th century.

II: *Smaller versions, in all essential respects copied from Nos. 1—4.*¹

Besides the real versions of the tale, classified under I and II, the whole tale, or single passages, have been referred to by early writers. These accounts will be touched on separately.

In order to be able distinctly to follow the development of the legend and the statements made by the four chief versions extant, it will be necessary to give a full analysis of the tale itself. For this purpose I think it advisable to give two accounts, the one containing an abstract of the fuller of the two Anglo-Norman versions, the *Lai d'Haveloc*, with references to the variations in the version of *Gaimar* and in the *Lambeth* interpolation, the other containing an abstract of the English lay.

¹ These versions will be treated separately.

The following list of names will facilitate the survey of the versions. It contains the names of the principal characters with their corresponding variations.¹

<i>Gaimar.</i>	<i>Lai d'Haveloc.</i>	<i>Lambeth.</i>	<i>Engl. lay.</i>
Adelbriht ²	Ekenbright	Egelbright	Athelwold
Edelsi	Alsi	Edelsi	Godrich
Orwain	Orwain	Orwain	—
Gunter	Gunter	Gunter	Birkabeyn
Alvive	—	Eleyne	—
Edulf, Odulf.	Hodulf	Edulf	Godard.
Sigar	Sigar	Sykar	Ubbe
Sebrug	Sabure	Sebure	Leue
Kelloc	Kelloc	—	—
Alger	—	Aunger	—
Argentille	Argentille,	Argill, Argentille	Goldeboru
Cuheran	Cuaran	Coraunt	—

The names of Havelok and Grim are the only ones common to all the versions.

¹ In the English lay several persons are named, who either do not occur at all in the other versions, or, as for inst. the sons of Grim, are alluded to only in appellatives. Such names are not noted in this list. Cf. the analysis of the English lay.

² Slight variations in the spelling are generally not noted.

Analysis of the *Lai d'Havelok*¹ with references to *Gaimar*²
and the *Lambeth interpolation*.³

1. *Introduction*: ll. 1—23.

The author begins by pointing to «the noble deeds of the ancients» as good examples that ought to be remembered and followed. Men ought to be warned by them, of which many are in need. Everyone ought to take to heart the adventures of the great king, who was named *Havelok* and *Cuaran*. The Britons made a lay on him.

— In the version of *Gaimar* no such introduction is to be found, owing to the insertion of the tale in the «*Estorie des Engles*». Nor does any allusion occur to a former lay written by the Britons. The *Lambeth interpolation* is preceded by no introduction whatever.

2. *In Denmark: King Gunter, Arthur and Hodulf. Sigar, Grim and Havelok. The flight and the arrival at Grimsby*: ll. 24—125.

Havelok's father was *Gunter*, the Danish king. When *Arthur* was king he crossed the sea and went to Denmark in order to conquer the country and to extort tribute from king *Gunter*. The king of the Danes was defeated and *Hodulf*, the traitor, one of his own men (as it seems), killed him. The war being ended *Hodulf* handed over the country to *Arthur*.

¹ Hist. Littéraire XVIII, pp. 731 sqq. — Skeat, E. E. T. S. pp. XXIV sqq. — Ahlström, Lais-Litt. pp. 119 sqq. — Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 119. — Skeat, Cl. Pr. pp. XL sqq.

² Köster, *Havelok Danske*, pp. 40 sqq. (Passages from both the Anglo-Norman versions are contained in this account.) — C. R. I, p. 426.

³ Putnam, *Lambeth*, pp. 2 sqq.

The latter, having to return to Brittany, left the country in the hands of Hodulf. Most of the barons acknowledged Hodulf, but some remained faithful to *Sigar* (a friend of the dead king) and would not submit to the usurper. — King Gunter had left a horn in the charge of Sigar, and none could sound it but the right heir of the Danish kingdom. — Before the arrival of Arthur, Gunter had sent his queen and his son, whom he dearly loved, to a castle on the seashore, and entrusted *Grim* (who is here called «un baron de la contree», cf. below, esp. l. 135) with the care of them. Grim, who had always served him loyally, was to take care especially of the young Havelok, and, if his father died, send him out of the country in order to save him from being taken by the enemy. — At this time Havelok was only seven years old. When he slept a fragrant flame issued from his mouth, owing to the heat he had in his body. All who saw it held it to be a great wonder. On the death of king Gunter, Hodulf, having become king of Denmark, would suffer nobody in the country whom he knew loved the former king, and persecuted all who would not submit to him. The queen and Grim were very anxious about Havelok, fearing his death at the hands of Hodulf. In order to save them all, especially Havelok, Grim decided to flee from Denmark. For this purpose he had his ships fitted out and embarked with all his company: his knights and soldiers, his own family, the queen and Havelok, whom he carried under his cloak. — Not knowing where to go they set sail, and were favoured by a good wind that took them right out to sea. — But now the ships were attacked by pirates, who killed the queen and all the others except Grim, who was known to them, his wife, his small children and Havelok. With the survivors Grim sailed

on until they arrived at a harbour, where they landed. This was at Grimsby.

The events touched on in this passage are, as will be seen below, repeated twice in this version. In ll. 597 sqq. Kelloc tells Havelok of Gunter and Arthur, of the flight and the attack by the pirates; in ll. 777 sqq. Havelok makes allusions to the same effect. The flame is alluded to in ll. 860 sqq., and the horn plays an important part in ll. 881 sqq.

— The version of *Galmar* begins in England and introduces Havelok under the name of *Cuheran* as cook of king Edelsi in Lincoln. The events of the above mentioned passage are narrated in passages corresponding with the repetitions in the *Lai d'Haveloc*, and in ll. 505—528: In Denmark lived a rich man, Sigar, who had been steward to king Gunter. He hated Odulf, the present king, who by treason had sent for Arthur and given him the country. There were many in Denmark, who were agreed in not submitting to Odulf nor in taking land from him, until they knew what had become of the rightful heir. King Odulf was the brother of *Aschis*, who was killed by Arthur, when he himself suffered wrong from *Modret*. King Odulf was much hated by the Danes.

In the *Lambeth interpolation* no allusion whatever is made to either of the two supernatural motives, the flame and the horn episodes. In this version *Gountar* goes to Denmark with all «his folk». Arthur comes to make war upon him. The tribute which he requires, is refused. In the battle that follows king Gountar is killed. With *Elegne*, the daughter of king *Gatfer*, Gountar had a child, Havelok. For fear of the conqueror the queen flees with him to the seashore, where she meets with Grim, a good mariner, in the

harbour. He knows her well and is willing to help her to flee that very night. From the fight with the pirates only Grim, Havelok and «other fyue» escape. These land at Grimsby. (ll. 1—22).

3. *In Grimsby. The life there. Havelok grows strong. Grim's anxiety for his future. Havelok departs:* ll. 126—192.

At this time nobody lived in the place where Grim landed. He was the first who settled there and from him it was called Grimsby. — He divided his ship in two halves, from which he built a house to lodge in. Then he went to fish as he was wont. He sold salt and soon he become acquainted with the peasants of the neighbourhood, many of whom joined him and settled in Grimsby. — Grim and his wife brought Havelok up well. All took him for their child, because Grim had made him change his name so that nobody knew who he really was. He grew very strong and brave and, even as a boy, he was stronger than grown up men. The good Grim loved him dearly. But, convinced that Havelok in the future was to regain his inheritance, Grim was sorry that he learned nothing in such a place. One day he called him and told him his thoughts. Poor fishermen were not the people for him to live with. He could neither learn anything nor earn his living. Grim advised him to go from there and to take his brothers with him. He should go to the court of some great king as servant; for this he was well qualified because of his great strength. «Make yourself loved by all», was Grim's advice. He dressed him well and the three lads set out thinking they were brothers. They went straight to Lincoln.

— The chief contents of this passage reappear in ll. 610 sqq. and 791 sqq., with which there are corresponding passages in the version of *Gaimar*.

The *Lambeth interpolation* relates shortly in ll. 23—29 that Havelok grew up under the care of Grim and his wife, *Sebure*, as if he had been their own child, until he became so big and strong and wanted so much to eat that he was forced to earn his own living. He took leave of his foster-parents, and was not to blame for doing so. He went away to the court of king Edelsy.

4. *Of Ekenbright, Alsi and Argentille*: ll. 193—234.

At this time king *Alsi* ruled the country from Lindsey and Lincoln in the North to Rutland and Stamford in the South. He was a Briton. The kingdom towards »les Surois« was held by king *Ekenbright*, who was a Dane. The two kings were good friends. The sister of *Alsi*, *Orewen*, was married to *Ekenbright*, and their sole child was a daughter, *Argentille*. — Then it happened that king *Ekenbright* fell ill and knew he was going to die. He sent for *Alsi*, his friend, and entrusted to him his daughter and the kingdom. He made *Alsi* swear to bring her up and to keep the land for her till she came of age. Then he was to marry her to the *strongest* man in the kingdom and to give the kingdom up entirely to him. Soon after king *Ekenbright* died; in a short time his queen died too and was buried near him.

— This passage forms the beginning of the version of *Gaimar* (ll. 41—92) and, varies somewhat in the details. The kingdom of *Edelsi* extends from the Humber to Rutland, and *Adelbriect* is made king of Norfolk from Holland to Colchester and is, besides that, the owner of four rich earldoms

in Denmark. Argentille is said to grow strong and fair, thanks to her good nurse. — As long as Adelbrict was a mighty king Edelsi was his friend. But Adelbrict died in the town of Thetford. He was carried to Colchester and buried there. Orewain and Argentille went to Lindsey and delivered the kingdom of Adelbrict to Edelsi. The queen died within 20 days of Adelbrict's death and was buried.

The *Lambeth interpolation* (ll. 30—40) makes the two kings hold the same kingdoms in England as the version of Gaimar. The daughter of *Egelbriht* and *Orewayn* is *Argill*. King Edelsy rejoiced at the death of her parents and took the kingdom into his hands »al at his owene will«.

5. *Havelok at the court of king Alsi in Lincoln*: ll. 235—278.

King Alsi, who now governed the two kingdoms, held his court at Lincoln. When Havelok came there he was employed as cook by the king, who saw how strong and tall he was. Havelok was able to lift marvellous burdens; he cut wood, carried water and washed the dishes. All the leavings from the meals he gave away to the other servants. He was good-natured and wanted to please all. But because of his generosity he was considered a fool and all made fun of him. He was called *Cuaran*, for so the Britons call their cooks. The knights and the soldiers made him wrestle before them, and owing to his great strength he overcame even the strongest men. If somebody vexed Havelok he tied him up and punished him, but, this done, he became good friends with him again. The king was highly astonished at his strength: no ten of his men could resist him, and twelve could not carry what he could.

— The corresponding passage of the version of *Gaimar* (ll. 105—154) is somewhat different. We find Havelok under the name of *Cuheran* at the court of king Edelsi. He was a cook and a very handsome youth. He had a fine, cheerful face, slender body and beautiful hands, legs and feet. So bold was Havelok, that he threw all who wrestled with him. He used his belt, when he tied the grooms up who had vexed him, and not until they had promised not to like him less for the whipping he had given them, did he untie them. The king and his knights gave him all kinds of meat and other food. He had two servants. To these and to the other servants of the house he gave away what he had. His generosity pleased all so much that no one refused to give him what he asked for; and when he in his turn was asked for something, he did not mind borrowing if he had nothing himself. But he repaid all he borrowed.

The *Lambeth interpolation* (ll. 41—44) is very brief with regard to Havelok's life at the court. He served as a scullion, known by the name of *Coraunt*. He was strong as a giant, but courteous and of good manners. All loved him.

6. *The marriage of Havelok and Argentille*: ll. 279—380.

In the meantime Argentille had grown up and come of age. The barons of the dead king Ekenbright came to the court of Alsí in order to demand of him the fulfilment of his promise with regard to Argentille. Alsí asked for respite: he wanted to consult about it and named a day for them to return. Now he took counsel with his favourites and told them his treacherous thoughts. Despite his oath to the king he would rather have war than give away Argentille to such a

man and lose his sovereignty of her possession. The advice of his councillors was to send her to a nunnery to his kinsfolk »en Bretagne dela de la mer». But Alsi's plan was quite another one. He referred to the oath he had sworn: to marry Argentille to the strongest man to be found in the country. Cuaran was to become her husband and she should be queen of the saucepans. This he was going to tell the barons on their return. At the same time he was determined to imprison everyone who opposed this intention. She should marry the cook. — As the day approached when the barons were to return, Alsi had assembled armed men, for he feared a riot. The barons came and the decision of the king was communicated to them. He talked of king Ekenbright, his entrusting his daughter to his care and his own oath. His own scullion was the strongest man he knew, and to him he decided to give his niece. Ten of the strongest men of his house could not resist Cuaran — from here »to Rome» nobody could be equalled to him. In this way he thought to keep his oath. — To this the barons answered openly that they would never suffer it. A riot would have arisen, had not Alsi had his armed men. He simply sent for Argentille, had her married to Cuaran and forced them to lie together at night.

— In the version of *Gaimar* the whole of this passage is very much curtailed. The controversy between the uncle of Argentille and the barons of her late father does not occur. In ll. 93—104 it is said that Argentille was brought up at Lincoln and Lindsey. She had no kinsman on her father's side. In order to desinherit her, Edelsi married her to Cuheran. He wished to abase her, and therefore he gave her to

him. — In ll. 155—176 the same theme returns in a somewhat different connection. The author alludes to the two servants Cuheran kept. He thought they were his brothers, but in reality they had not the same parents as he. He was of gentle blood in spite of the low position he now held. Had Edelsi known that, he would never have married her to him. But he did not know who his juggler was. His keeping the kingdom for himself was a great cruelty, and so was his forcing the daughter of a king to lie in such a bed. In doing so he hoped to disgrace her.

The *Lambeth interpolation* renders this passage in its usual short way (ll. 45—48). Because of his desire to disinherit Argill and of a »chere«, that he had seen her make to Coraunt, he caused them to be married. This made many wroth.

7. *Argentille's dream and Havelok's interpretation of it. The flame. The hermit*: ll. 381—534.

In the night Argentille was ashamed of her husband, who lay on his face in order to conceal the flame issuing from his mouth. But afterwards they loved each other as man and wife should. One night Argentille had a dream. It appeared to her that she saw her husband in a thicket beyond the sea. A wild bear and foxes tried to attack Cuaran, but he was defended by dogs and boars, that came from the other side and killed many of the foxes. One of the boars killed the bear. Now the foxes approached Cuaran, lay down before him and seemed to ask his mercy. But he had them bound. When after this Cuaran wanted to go towards the sea, the trees bowed to him and the sea rose. He was very frightened. Then two fierce lions came and killed all the beasts in the wood. Fearing for the

life of Argentille they both climbed a tree. But the lions knelt under it, making signs of homage to Cuaran. In the wood a great cry arose, at which Argentille awoke in great fear. But she was still more frightened when she caught sight of the flame from Cuaran's mouth. She cried loudly that he was on fire, so that he awoke. He embraced her, asking the reason why she was so frightened. Then she told him of her dream and of the flame, and that she thought he was on fire. Calming her, Cuaran said that the vision was a good portent. Interpreting it he said that on the king's feast, when all the barons would come, he was to serve the meat for the squires and grooms in great plenty. These were the foxes. A bear had been killed and two bulls, which represented the two lions. The caldrons in which the boiling water rises, stood for the sea. The fire from his mouth meant that the kitchen was going to burn and that all the saucepans would have to be carried out of it. But he added that fire would issue from his mouth when he slept -- he did not know why, and was troubled by it. --- After this interpretation they went to sleep again. — The next morning Argentille told an old chamberlain, who had brought up her father and now was with her, of the dream. He advised her to visit a holy hermit who dwelt in the wood, in order to hear his interpretation of it. She consented to do so if the chamberlain would come with her. He said he would, and took her secretly to the hermit. He caused her to tell the holy man all about the vision and the flame. Having prayed and sighed the hermite told her that she would live to see everything she had dreamt. Her husband was of royal blood, and some day he would regain his inheritance: he would be king and she queen. The hermite

advised her to ask him who his father was and to question him about his family. They were to go to his country. Their destiny should be made known to them there. With a pious wish that all might turn out well, he commended her to God. — Argentille took leave of the hermit.

— In the version of *Gai-mar* (ll. 177- 300) neither Have-lok's explanation of the flame in so far as it refers to the burning of the kitchen, nor the visit to the hermit occur, and there are other slight alterations. The night when Cuheran and Argentille slept together he was quite ignorant of the value of the nature of woman. Argentille wondered why he slept on his face and did not approach her. She went to Edelsi complaining of the husband to whom she had been given, and blaming her uncle for having thus abased her. — Of the foxes it is said that they had been in danger all the day. The boar who attacked the bear killed it by cutting its heart in two with its tusk. Before the bear died it gave a cry. — It is not said that Argentille climbed the tree on the arrival of the lions, nor that Cuheran was especially afraid for her sake. When she awoke she embraced him and opened her eyes for fear. Cuheran declared that the dream was all vain. — His interpretation of it contains also some small variations. — When she had heard it, Argentille asked for an explanation of the fire from her husband's mouth. He answered that he was ignorant of what it was: when he slept it escaped from him and he felt nothing.

This passage is not contained in the *Lambeth interpolation*.

8. *Argentille's question about the family of Herchiek. His answer. Their departure for Grimsey:* ll. 555- 556.

Argentille went to Cuaran and asked him secretly and lovingly where he was born and where his family lived. He answered: »at Grimsby«. He came from that place. Grim, the fisherman, was his father, and he believed *Saburc* to be the name of his mother. — Then she begged him to let them go in search of his family. She proposed to give up her inheritance of her own accord to Alsi, who had wrongfully driven her from it. She thought it better to be a beggar elsewhere than to live in shame among her own people. To this Cuaran consented and was willing to take her with him. He told her to come with him to take leave of the king. This they did. Accompanied by the two sons of Grim they went to Grimsby.

— In the version of *Gaimar* (ll. 301—329) Argentille asks the same question and gets the same answer, to which Cuheran adds that, if his kindred was not there (at Grimsby), he did not know where on earth he was born. To her proposal to let them go to Grimsby Cuheran answered that he was willing to do so, »be it folly or wisdom«. When on the next morning they asked leave of the king, the latter laughingly consented to their request. He joked with it and said they would come back within few days, when they had nothing to eat. Now they went to Grimsby.

The *Lambeth interpolation* (ll. 49—55) informs us in a few words that they stopped at the court some time in poverty. Argentille felt shame and sorrow. She asked her husband of what people he came — if he had no friends in his country? At her advise they went to Grimsby.

9. In *Grimsby*. Kelloc. *Havelok and Argentille set out for Denmark*: ll. 557—646.

In Grimsby they were received by *Kelloc*, the daughter of Grim, and her husband, a merchant. They greeted her as a sister and asked news of Grim, their father, and of Sabure, »their« mother. On hearing that these were dead they were deeply afflicted. — Kelloc laughingly asked Cuaran, who the woman was who was with him, if matron or maid. He answered that she was the niece of king Alsî, whom he had served long, and that he had given her to him in marriage not long ago; she was daughter to a king of high birth, although her uncle had taken possession of her inheritance. Pitying Havelok, who was himself son of a king and had such a wife, Kelloc secretly asked him if he knew who he was. He answered that Grim was his father, she herself his sister and his two companions his brothers. But now Kelloc informed him that this was not so, and advised him to keep the secret she was going to tell him. She made him call his wife and begged them both to listen to the truth, which would make them rejoice. Now she told them all about king Gunter, Arthur, Hodulf and Grim, of the flight and the attack by the pirates, further of their arrival in Grimsby, where Grim had settled and resolved to stay; how he had fed them and taken trouble to conceal who he (Havelok) really was by changing his name. »Havelok is your name, my friend. If he wanted to go to his country, her husband would, no doubt, take him in his ship. About a month before he had come from Denmark and had heard enough to know that the Danes longed for Havelok. The present king of the country was hated. But a good man named Sigar Estalre, who was his adversary, and his wife often grieved for him. Kelloc advised him to go to Sigar. She offered him to let him take the two lads

with him and was convinced he would regain his inheritance. Argentille was very glad and promised to love them, if God restored her to her position. Before long they set out and sailed for Denmark.

— The version of *Gaimar* (ll. 330 – 496) varies in some respects. It is said that on their arrival at Grimsby they find a good friend, who was a fisherman and married to the daughter of Grim. Recognizing the three young men and knowing who Argentille was, Alger asked Kelloc, if she thought it advisable to reveal to Havelok the secret of his birth. She thought it dangerous, because he would not be able to conceal the secret. But then she decided to summon him and Argentille, and to tell them everything. She asked him if he knew whose son he was, and where his family lived. His answer is the same as in the Lai. Kelloc alluding to his parents never having been salters, thanked him for having brought up her two brothers and offered to repay him. She proposed to him to cross the sea in a ship that had arrived the day before and was well loaded with all kinds of provisions, of which he could have as much as he wanted for himself, his wife and the two sons of Grim, who were to accompany them; she would give him money and clothes. But she advised him to keep well the secret of his birth, of which and of the circumstances connected with his childhood she gave him an explicit account. The chief variations from 2. (p. 17 sqq.) are, that the Danish queen is called *Alvive* and said to be the daughter of king *Gaifer*. Kelloc said that the queen herself had brought her up and cared for her while she lived. — King Arthur came to demand the tribute which had been withheld. — Grim had only one ship. — The pirates flung them all into the sea, except those who they

spared for Grim's sake. — Because the ship was damaged Grim cut it in two halves. — In Grimsby they earned their living as boatmen. They had all sorts of fish to eat. — Havelok was cared for better than the sons of Grim. — If Havelok got back his inheritance, Kelloc and her husband, Alger, who is now called a merchant, would join him in Denmark. Havelok promised to reward them liberally for their kindness. They waited for a good wind. Alger fitted out two ships for them. They set out and sailed for Denmark.

In the *Lambeth interpolation* (ll. 56—64) they find *Aunger*, Grim's cousin. Before his death Grim and his wife had told Aunger the circumstances connected with Havelok's birth. »They» (probably meaning Aunger and his wife; the latter is not mentioned) advised Havelok and his wife to go to his country to try his luck among his friends there. They would take them over the sea and give them all they wanted. Having embarked they sailed to Denmark, favoured by good weather.

10. *In Denmark. Sigar. Their reception in his castle:*
ll. 647—694.

When they had landed, the merchant gave them good clothes and instructed them where to go. They should go to the town of Sigar, the steward, and ask him for food and lodging in his castle. Havelok was to take his wife with him. Because of her beauty they would probably ask him where he came from and where he met his wife. They did as they were told and went on until they reached the town of the steward. They found him in his castle and asked him for food and shelter. He consented to give them what they wanted, took them to the hall and made the three young men sit

down at his table, and Argentille beside her husband. They were honourably served. All gazed at Argentille and praised her beauty. — Six of the men agreed to take her from Havelok, and, if he defended her, they would fight him. — After the meal, Sigar had them conducted to an inn, where they were to sleep.

— The version of *Gaimar* (ll. 497—504) recounts, that they went to a town and had their belongings brought to them on carts. The merchants returned to their ships and Havelok and Argentille went to an inn to sleep. (Here follows the passage referring to Sigar, already alluded to on p. 19). In ll. 529—532 of this version it is said that God turned Sigar's thoughts towards Havelok because of the beauty of his wife, Argentille. After this there is a gap in the text. The missing lines seem to have contained an account of the meal in Sigar's castle and of the plan of the six men who wanted to take away Argentille.

The *Lambeth interpolation* relates (ll. 65—66) that they found *Sykar* in Denmark. He was very powerful and had formerly been steward to Havelok's father.

11. *The attack by the six men and Havelok's defence.*
Sigar: ll. 695—770.

On the way to the inn those who had planned to take away Argentille went after them in the street, and took hold of her. Havelok snatched an axe from one of the villains and killed five of them and cut off the hand of the sixth one. A riot arose in the town. Havelok and Argentille fled to a church, which they entered, and from a wall he hurled stones on the mass below. Sigar was informed that he, to whom he had given refuge, had killed five of his men and crippled the

sixth and was now throwing stones from the church tower on those who were attacking him. He killed and wounded many. The steward rode to the place accompanied by all his knights. He saw how well Havelok defended himself, and how strong and tall he was.

As he regarded him he sighed, because Havelok reminded him of king Gunter, whom he had loved. He thought Havelok looked like him. Having caused the attack to cease, he went forward alone and talked with the young man. He told him not to continue throwing stones, assured him of his personal safety, and asked him why he had killed his men. Havelok replied, that he would speak the truth and related how, on their way to the inn, they had been attacked, and that Argentille would have been taken from him, had he not defended her and himself. He confessed he had killed the men, but added that he did it in self-defence.

— In the version of *Gaimar* this passage (ll. 533—570) follows the above mentioned gap. The variations are small. The villains are said to have wounded Havelok's companions. The axe with which he defended himself he found hanging in a house — and he caught the men in a lane. He did not kill more than two and only disabled the other three. Then with his wife he went to the inn. But on account of the great tumult that arose, he entered a church and was defending himself, when Dan Sigar came on his horse. — When the latter thought of Gunter, he did not hate him any longer on account of his men that were killed, and was so touched that he could scarcely speak. He led him to his hall with his wife and companions.

Of this and of the following passages the *Lambeth interpolation* makes no mention.

12. *Havelok relates his adventures. Sigar's doubts. He remembers the flame:* ll. 711—836.

Sigar told him to come forward, and asked him where he was born. Havelok answered by telling him of Grim, the flight, the attack by the pirates and the life at Grimsby, alluding to the origin of that name. Then he talked of the time he had passed as cook to king Alsi, and said, he did not know why the latter had given him Argentille. Now he was here to look for his friends, but he knew none of them. On being asked for his name, he replied: Havelok and Cuaran. Sigar thought he remembered that Havelok was the name of the king's son, with whom Grim had escaped. But still doubting whether this was so, he took him to his castle and made him and his companions his prisoners, but treated them well. He remembered the flame that used to issue from the mouth of the king's son, and made one of his men watch him in his sleep. They were to sleep in his own chamber. Havelok was weary, and fell asleep at once.

— In the version of *Gaimar* (ll. 571—634) Havelok is first brought to the castle of Sigar, as we have seen, and then questioned by him, who he, his companions and his wife are, and what his name is. His answer is much the same as above.

— Grim is said to have gone to Lindsey. — Havelok alludes to Alger and Kelloc having advised them to go to Denmark in search of his friends. He was called Cuherant at court, but he knew well that Havelok was his right name, because he had heard Alger call him so a few days before. He said Sigar could use which of these names he liked. -- The reason

why he went to sleep so fast, is said to have been his weariness, not only from the fight, but also from thoughts he had had.

13. *The flame. In the hall. The horn:* ll. 837—908.

As soon as he slept, the flame issued from his mouth. The chamberlain who saw it was frightened, and went to inform his lord. Sigar straightway thanked God that the right heir had been found. He had messages sent to all his friends, and to all who hated king Hodulf. In the morning Havelok and his wife were bathed and richly clothed. When they were led into the hall, Havelok was afraid of the many people he saw, and imagined that it was a custom of the country, that those who were to be judged for any crime were bathed first. He thought of the men he had killed, and seized a big axe, that he saw hanging there, in order to defend himself, in case they wanted to hang him. But Sigar reassured him and persuaded him to give up the axe. He made him sit beside him. Then he had the horn brought forth, which none but the rightful heir could sound. He bade them all try, and promised a golden ring to him who could sound it. But nobody could. At last Sigar gave the horn to Havelok, and asked him to try. He refused, saying he had never blown a horn. He did not care to be laughed at. But as Sigar asked him to, he would have a try. He rose, blessed the horn and sounded it. All who heard it, held it to be a great wonder.

— In the version of *Gaimar* (ll. 635—718) Sigar rose from his bed when he heard of the flame. But, says this text, this news was so dear to him, that he did not tell it even to his wife until next morning. — The axe that Havelok seized when he entered the hall, he took from a young man. To him who could blow the horn Sigar promised a ring, worth

a castle. He who had that ring would not be drowned if he fell into the water: neither could he be hurt by fire, nor wounded by a weapon. When the horn came to Havelok, he said he relinquished his claims to the ring. But when Sigar insisted on his trying, he took it, blessed it and, as soon as it touched his mouth, the note was as clear as ever his father had sounded it.

14. *The acknowledgement of Havelok. The war with Edulf*: ll. 909—981.

Now Sigar showed Havelok to all the people, and acknowledged him as the rightful heir. He knelt before him and swore to stand by him and to serve him loyally. So did all the others. The news spread, and from all parts of the kingdom people assembled and paid him homage. He was dubbed knight. By the help of Sigar an army was assembled. In a letter Hodulf was asked, if he would surrender of his own accord and leave the country. But Hodulf made fun of this proposal, and assembled his men. When the two armies met, Havelok took pity on his men and did not want them to be killed. He sent Hodulf a personal challenge. If Havelok gained the victory, Hodulf's men were to acknowledge him. Hodulf did not refuse, and both sides laid down their arms. Then the fight began. Havelok struck Hodulf with an axe so that he fell and could not rise again. Hodulf's men cried for mercy and became Havelok's men. — Now Havelok took possession of his father's kingdom. He brought peace to the country and exercised justice. His wife loved him. Havelok reigned more than four years.

In the version of *Gaimar* (ll. 719—758) Sigar embraced Havelok and cried out for joy. The army that Havelok's

men collect, amounts on the fifth day to 40,000 men. — The duel between Havelok and his adversary is not mentioned. — King Edulf was conquered. Havelok himself killed more than twenty. Two princes, who formerly supported Edulf, now became Havelok's vassals. A great feast was held, as the true history tells us.

In the *Lambeth interpolation* (ll. 67—72) Sykar was very glad at Havelok's arrival, and helped him to reconquer his inheritance from king Edulf. The latter was conquered in a battle.

15. *The departure for England. The war with Alsi. The conclusion:* (ll. 982—1106).

Argentille asked Havelok to go to England in order to reconquer her inheritance. He consented, got his ships ready and embarked with his army and his queen in 480 ships. They arrived at Carleflure and lay in the harbour. A message was sent to Alsi to give up the land of Ekenbright, which he wrongfully held. If he would not do it of his own accord, Havelok would take it from him. To this he answered by making fun to the messengers of Cuaran, his former cook, who was coming to demand land of him. He would send his cooks against him with their saucepans. This reply was communicated to Havelok. The same day Alsi assembled his army at Thetford, armed himself and, mounting a grey horse, went to reconnoitre the Danish army. Then he realized the gravity of the situation. He returned and prepared his army. The battle lasted all day. Many fell on both sides. Havelok was angry for the men he had lost, and would have returned to his fleet with his Danes, had not his queen taught him a stratagem. In the night stakes were fixed in the ground. The dead

were tied to them with their axes raised. The next morning, when Alsi and his knights were on the point of beginning the battle again, they caught sight of the dead men and were highly frightened. They thought the Danes had seven times as many soldiers as they themselves. The king was advised to give up the fight, for the Danes had got reinforcements, and to do justice to Argentille and make peace. This he did. A treaty was made, according to which all the land of Ekenbright from Holland to Colchester was restored to Argentille. Havelok held his feast, and received homage of the barons. — About a fortnight after this king Alsi died. He had no nearer heirs than Havelok and Argentille. His kingdom surrendered to Havelok, who from this time also governed Lincoln and Lindsey. He reigned for twenty years.

Havelok was much talked of. In olden times a lay was made about his victory. May he always be remembered!

According to the version of *Gaimar* (ll. 759—818) Havelok crossed the sea with all his ships and all the power of his kingdom. — Of the men, tied to the stakes, it is said that they looked like fighting men alive. — Havelok and his queen were the nearest heirs to Edelsi's kingdom, because his children were all dead. Havelok reigned twenty years and conquered many lands.

In the *Lambeth interpolation* the episode of the stakes and the dead men does not occur. Edelsy gave Argentille Lindsey and made her his heir. In the end Havelok reigned over all Northfolk and Lindsey (ll. 73—82).

Analysis of The Lay of Havelok the Dane.¹

1. *Introduction:* ll. 1—27.

The author begs all his hearers, men and women, to listen to him and to be warned by the tale he is going to tell. Before he begins, he wants to drink a «cup of good ale» that Christ may be gracious to them all! — The tale is told of *Havelok*, who was the best and bravest of all men.

2. *In England. King Athelwold and his good laws:* ll. 27—106.

In former days there was a king named *Athelwold*, who made excellent laws and caused them to be strictly kept. He was loved by all, from the highest to the lowest. He himself loved God and the church, and maintained justice in all ways: rewarded the good and punished the bad. Consequently security and safety prevailed throughout the country, and on account of the peace that prevailed in England, all that was good and just prospered. The king was also very bold: he was afraid of nobody and a brave warrior. He was generous and for the sake of Christ he helped the poor.

3. *His daughter Goldeboru. His sickness and dispositions for her future. Godrich. His oath. Athelwold's death:* ll. 107—239.

King Athelwold had only one child, a fair maiden, named *Goldeboru*. While she still was very young, a severe sickness seized her father, so that he knew he was to die. He had great anxiety for her future; for she could neither speak nor walk, and was not able to help herself in any way.

¹ Skeat, E. E. T. S., p. XXVII sqq. — T. Brink, *Gesch.* I, p. 299 sqq. — Wülker, p. 97. — Körting, p. 98 sq.

Troubled by this care, he sent word to all his earls and barons fro Rokesburw al into Douere»¹ to come quickly to him. He was now so ill, that he could not eat. There was nothing left for him but to die. All who heard these sorrowful tidings came to Winchester, where he lay. Athelwold summoned them into his hall, thanked them for having obeyed his summons, and talked to them of his daughter, who should be queen after him. He asked them, who was to take care of her and the kingdom, till she should come of age and could rule the country herself. The earl of Cornwall, *Godrich*, was pointed out as a good and faithful man, who, moreover, was feared in all the country. With this answer the king was satisfied, and on »the book» he made Godrich swear to take care of Goldeboru and to defend her, till she should reach the age of twelve years. When she wanted to marry, he was to give her to the best and strongest man to be found, and then to deliver all England into her hand. — Godrich took the oath, and Goldeboru was entrusted to him.

Now Athelwold prepared to meet death. He had himself shriven and scourged, and made his will. All his treasure he gave away. Then he commended himself into the hands of God and died.

4. *Godrich seizes England. His treacherous thoughts. Goldeboru in the castle:* ll. 240—337.

When the sorrow for the death of king Athelwold had somewhat ceased, the bells were rung and mourning services held. — No sooner was the king buried, than Godrich seized all England. The knights he trusted he had placed in the castles, and then he took oaths of allegiance from earls and

¹ Quotations from Holthausen's *Havelok*.

barons as well as from the lower people. He made new laws and appointed new officials throughout the country. None dared to oppose him, and in a little while he had England in his power. — Goldeboru throve and grew. When Godrich heard how wise and chaste and fair she was, and thought of how she was going to be queen of all England, he sighed and thought it ridiculous that he should have to yield the kingdom to a girl, however much she was in her right. He swore in his heart that he would never suffer it. She had grown much too proud, owing to the easy life she led. No, his son should become king. — When this treacherous thought had taken hold of him, he entirely forgot his oath. He had Goldeboru fetched, brought to Dover and there placed in a castle, where she was badly clothed and ill fed. For fear of revenge he allowed none of her friends to speak to her. — Now Goldeboru was in misery. -- After a pious wish on the poet's part that she might one day see Godrich hanged, the story continues in Denmark.

5. *In Denmark. King Birkabeyn and his children. His dispositions for the future of Havelok. Godard's oath. The king dies:* ll. 338—407.

At this time a strong and powerful king ruled over Denmark. His name was *Birkabeyn*. He had one son, *Havelok*, and two daughters, *Svanborow* and *Helfed*. But the fat wife non forbere, death overtook him, when he wanted most to live. Not for gold and silver, not for anything could he live any longer. When he knew that death was near, he sent for the ministers of the church, had himself shriven and made his will. Then he spoke with his knights of the future of his young children. *Godard*, the friend of the king, a man

whom all believed to be faithful and good, was chosen to take care of them and the kingdom, till the young prince had reached the age when he could be made king of Denmark. The king entrusted all to Godard, uttering a wish that he should swear to remain faithful. Godard swore to all the king asked him. Soon after the king died.

6. *Godard's falsehood and cruelty. His visit to the castle. Grim. He binds Havelok in order to take him away:* ll. 408—544.

As soon as Birkabeyn had been buried, Godard had Havelok and his two sisters brought to a castle, where he had them shut up, so that none of their kin could see them. Here they were ill-treated in all ways. They were starved and were in want of sufficient clothes, nor had they beds to sleep in. Godard was surely the greatest traitor, next to Judas, that ever lived! First he had got all the kingdom into his hands, and now he ill-treated the children of the king in this way. In a short time Godard visited the castle, where the children wept for hunger and cold. He asked them why they cried. Havelok, «pat was sumdel bold», knelt before him, and told him how they were starving and thirsting. But Godard did not care. He seized the two maidens, cut their throats and hacked them all to pieces. When Havelok saw this, he was terror-stricken, especially as the villain raised his knife against his heart. The little boy once more knelt before him, cried for mercy and offered him homage. He was willing to give him all Denmark, if he would let him live; he would never bear arms against him; he promised that very day to flee from Denmark -- yea, even to disown his father. At these words and the boy's tears Godard was somewhat moved in his determination:

although he wanted him dead, he did not care to kill him with his own hand. But, afraid that Havelok in the future might slay him, he decided to have him drowned. For this purpose he sent for *Grim*, a fisherman. Reminding him that he was his slave, Godard promised him freedom and wealth if he would take the child and drown it. He, Godard, would take the sin on him. Grim took the child and bound it. Havelok was now in great pain.

7. *Grim takes Havelok home. Leue. The flame and the cross. Grim and his wife discover who Havelok is:* ll. 514—662.

When Grim had bound Havelok, he wound him in a cloth and inserted rags in his mouth, so that he could hardly breathe and not speak a word. Then Godard made him swear to drown the child. Grim took Havelok on his back and carried him home to his cottage. He ordered his wife, «dame» *Leue*, to guard the lad, adding that he was going to drown him, and alluding to the promises Godard had given him. Hearing that, *Leue* took the child from Grim's back and threw it on the ground, so that it, as the text says, «crakede hise croune».

Thus Havelok lay until midnight; he thought about his being a king's son, and was sorry that some wild beast had not devoured him long ago. Now Grim asked *Leue* to light a candle, and said that he was going to keep his oath, because he did not want to be ruined. *Leue* did as she was told, but, when she was to fetch Grim's clothes for him, she saw a bright light round the lad. It came as a sunbeam from his mouth, and made it as light in the room as if they had burnt wax-tapers. She was startled at this sight, and cried to Grim to come and see what it might be. Quickly they untied Havelok,

and on his right shoulder they beheld a very bright royal mark. Then they knew that Havelok was the rightful heir of Denmark and England — this is an anachronism of the author's), and that he was going to cause Godard much woe. Grim wept, knelt before Havelok, and, begging his mercy, assured him of his devotion. He and Leue would feed him til he had grown up and could bear arms. Only through him did Grim want to become a free man. Now Havelok was happy. He arose and asked for something to eat; he was almost dead with hunger and pain. Leue fetched him all he wanted, and he ate a great deal: it was three days since he had tasted anything. Then he was taken to bed.

8. *Grim's visit to Godard. He resolves to flee with Havelok. Their departure for England:* ll. 663—732.

Next morning Grim went straightway to Godard, and told him that he had fulfilled his promise. Now he expected Godard to do the same. But Godard showered abuse on him and advised him to be off, lest he should be hanged. Grim started away, not knowing how to act. At last he made up his mind to sell all he had. Having realized this plan, he prepared his ship, and made Havelok and all his own family enter it. They set sail, and were soon favoured by a good wind that took them to England.

9. *In Grimsby. The life there. Havelok grows strong. The dearth. Havelok sets out for Lincoln:* ll. 733—862.

Grim landed in Lindsey, on the north shore of the Humber. He drew his ship on land, and built a cottage of earth. Because Grim owned this place, it was called Grimsby. And so shall men always call it between this day and doomsday. Here he took up his old trade: he was a great fisherman.

He caught all kinds of fish, which he exchanged for bread and victuals. The best fish he caught, he sold in Lincoln. Thus he lived for more than twelve years. Havelok saw that Grim toiled much to earn enough for this family and himself. He recognized himself that he had now grown so big, that he ate more than Grim could give him; indeed, he alone ate more than Grim and his five children together! Havelok felt that he ought to help Grim in earning money. The next morning he carried a load of fish to Lincoln, and brought home money. So he worked day after day. But then it happened that a great dearth befell them, and Grim could find no way to feed his family. He was most anxious for Havelok. He called him one day and told him, it was better he went to Lincoln to earn for himself. Grim feared they would have to starve, and therefore advised Havelok to go. But as he was almost naked, he sewed him a couple of his sail. But he had »ney-per hosen ne shon», and went barefoot to Lincoln.

10. *Havelok in Lincoln. His work. His character and strength:* ll. 863—1058.

When Havelok came to Lincoln, he had no friends there, and was quite at a loss what to do in order to earn his living. He starved for two days. On the third day he heard the earl's cook cry out for bearers. All the poor men ran to the bridge from where the cry came, and so did Havelok. He took the earl's meat and carried it to the castle, where he got a »ferþing wastel». The next day he waited for the cry of the cook, who wanted bearers to carry the fish he had bought for his lord, the earl of Cornwall. Havelok was so strong that he pushed away all the others, and carried alone more than a cart-load. The cook saw this and asked Havelok: »Wiltu ben wiþh|

me? Havelok consented, on the condition that he got enough to eat: he wanted no other wages. For that he was willing to do all kinds of work, and he told him all he could do. The cook declared himself satisfied, and told him to sit down and help himself to a meal. Havelok sat down as «still as a stone», and ate as much as he wanted. Then he began work: he fetched water for the kitchen, carried meat and wood from the bridge: he did all by himself, and required no help in anything. He worked as if he had been a beast, and would never rest. But, in spite of this, he was always meek and blithe, and concealed well the sorrowful thoughts he had. He was good to the children, and liked to play with them. All liked him and loved him, «bopen heyemen and lowe». The fame of his tallness and strength spread. The cook, his master, took pity on him because he had no clothes, and gave him some. Havelok was taller then all men who took part in the sports at Lincoln, and also stronger: no man could beat him. For women he did not care at all. — Godrich, the earl of Cornwall, who was now master of all England, summoned all men, rich and poor, high and low, to be present at the sports in Lincoln. One item was the «putting the stone», and the stone was so heavy, that it required exceedingly strong men only to lift it. Havelok was looking at this game, when his master, the cook, called upon him to have a try. But although he had never tried the game before, he dared not oppose him. He caught up a very heavy stone, and behold! the first time he put twelve feet beyond all the champions. Abashed, these would continue the game no longer.

11. *Godrich hears about Havelok. His decision to marry Goldeborn to him:* ll. 1059—1102.

This deed of Havelok's could not be concealed long. The fame of his strength and other good qualities spread through England, and soon Godrich heard speak of what a valiant man Havelok was. He at once remembered the oath he had sworn to Athelwold, that he would marry his daughter to the strongest man alive. If he sought even as far as India for such a man, he could find no one better than Havelok. Havelok was the man to whom Goldeboru should be married. This was an awful act of treachery, for the felon thought that Havelok was the son of some churl, and, even though he married Goldeboru, he could not be ruler over the least little bit of England. Christ never created a worse satan than Godrich.

12. *The marriage of Havelok and Goldeboru*: ll. 1103—1180.

Godrich had Goldeboru sent for. In Lincoln he had the bells rung, and feigned great joy at her coming. But it was all deceit. He proposed to marry her to the fairest man alive. But she swore that none should ever marry her, who was not a king's son or a king's heir. Godrich was very wroth at this answer. He asked her if she pretended to be queen over him. No, she should be the wife of his scullion, and the next morning she was to be wedded to him. Goldeboru wept. Early the next morning he sent for Havelok, and asked him: «Wilt wif?» «Nay», quoth Havelok, «bi my lif». He said he did not know what to do with a wife; he could neither feed nor clothe or shoe her. And where should he take her to? He had no house. Pointing to the clothes he had on, he said that even they belonged to the cook, his master. At this answer Godrich got furious and struck Havelok fierce blows, saying, that if he did not marry her, whom he had chosen, he was

to be hanged. Havelok was afraid and consented. Then he threatened Goldeboru with exile or burning, if she did not yield to the marriage. She also was afraid of the foul traitor, and so the wedding took place. Havelok and Goldeboru were wedded by the archbishop of York, who had come for the parliament in Lincoln.

13. *Havelok and Goldeboru set out for Grimsby. Their reception by the children of Grim:* ll. 1181—1246.

Now they did not know what to do, if to stay in Lincoln, or to go from there. Havelok knew that Godrich hated them, and thought that, if he stayed, men would pay no respect to his wife, and rather than that he would suffer death.

They therefore decided to flee to Grim, and immediately carried out this plan. In Grimsby the old folks were dead, but the five children of Grim were all alive. They recognized Havelok, and were very happy that he came: they knelt before him, and bade him and his wife welcome. They told him of the property Grim had left behind, and which was to be delivered to him, and begged them both to stay with them: they should be well taken care of. A good meal was prepared.

14. *The flame. Goldeboru's vision. Havelok's dream. Her interpretation and advice. Havelok goes to church:* ll. 1247—1390.

In the night Goldeboru was sorry. She imagined, that she had been abused by her marriage. But then she caught sight of the flame coming forth from Havelok's mouth, and of the golden cross on his shoulder. And she heard the voice of an angel. She should not grieve, said this voice, for Havelok was the son of a king, and was himself to become king

of Denmark and all England, and she queen. Goldeboru hugged Havelok tight. He awoke and told her, he had had a wondrous dream. He dreamt he was in Denmark, and, sitting on a high hill, it seemed to him that he embraced the whole country, and all that was in it paid him homage. He also dreamt another dream: that he passed over to England, which country also became his. On being questioned what this might mean, Goldeboru answered, that Havelok was going to become king of England and Denmark, and mightier than any other king or emperor. But she advised him at once to let them both go to Denmark, in company with the three sons of Grim. They were sure not to refuse to go. — The next morning Havelok went to church to pray God for help and revenge. He prayed that God might help him to cross the sea and to regain the country, which now wrongfully was in the hands of Godard. Then he sacrificed at the altar, »took leave of Jesus Christ and his sweet mother«, and went away sorely weeping.

15. *The three sons of Grim. Havelok tells them of Godard's treachery, how he was saved by Grim, and his intention to go to Denmark:* ll. 1391—1444.

When Havelok came home from church, the three sons of Grim, *Robert the Red, William Wendut* and *Huwe Rauw*, were ready to go out fishing. But Havelok called them, and begged them to listen to what he was going to tell them. He said: my father was king of Denmark. Before he died he entrusted me and my sisters as well as the kingdom to a felon. This scoundrel murdered my sisters, and made Grim swear to drown me. But the good Grim would rather break his oath than do that. He saved me by fleeing from Denmark. Here he brought me up well. But now I have come of age, and am

able to bear arms. Now I want to go to Denmark, and, if you assist me, I shall give you castles and land. (Here is a gap in the text of 180 lines.)¹

16. *In Denmark. Havelok and Ubbe. The meal in Ubbe's hall. In the house of Bernard Brun:* ll. 1625—1765.

When the story continues, we find Havelok in Denmark. Havelok passed for a merchant, and, in order to be allowed to sell his wares in the country, he gave Ubbe, the master of the town in which he had arrived, a golden ring. Owing to the precious golden ring he had received, and to the mighty exterior of Havelok, Ubbe thought that Havelok looked more like a knight than a merchant. He invited him and his wife to dine at his table. In his house they would be quite safe. Although Havelok was afraid that something might happen to his wife, he dared not refuse. With two of the sons of Grim — Huwe Rauen stopping on the ships to watch them — Havelok and Goldeborn entered Ubbe's hall. Havelok was taller than all the others, and Ubbe loved him more than he did any man in Denmark. At table they were richly entertained. When it was time to go, Ubbe feared men would do Havelok harm in order to get hold of his wife. He ordered a strong escort to convey them to the house of *Bernard Brun*, who was one of the best and most faithful men of the town. Bernard was strictly ordered by Ubbe to watch Havelok and his wife well until the next day. The guests were well entertained at supper.

17. *The attack. Havelok's strength and brave defence:* ll. 1766—1919.

All at once, as they sat at the supper-table, more than

¹ Holthausen, p. 94. — Skeat, *CL. Pr.*, p. 116. — Cf. below, p. 59.

sixty men tried to force themselves into the room, crying to Bernard to open the door. Bernard sprang for his weapons, and through the door he cried to the scoundrels to go away. Flinging a big stone at the door, they burst it open and rushed in. Havelok drew the bar of a door, and defended himself courageously with it, killing every one who approached. Having thus killed a great number, he was attacked on every side. Some of the robbers rushed at him, and some threw their lances at him from a distance — but he did not yield. At last Huwe Rauen heard the noise, and, calling to his brothers to come, they all three hastened to assist their lord. They made a frightful assault on the assailants, and killed every one of them.

18. *Ubbe is informed of the riot and goes there. Bernard Brun recounts the attack and Havelok's bravery. Havelok is fetched. His wounds. He and Goldeboru are brought to Ubbe's house: ll. 1920—2085.*

The next morning Ubbe was informed of the fight, and of the fact that Havelok had killed sixty-one of his best men. He thought it advisable to go there himself, and rode to the house of Bernard Brun. The latter, torn and badly bruised, met him. On being asked, Bernard informed him how everything had come about, told him that the name of the leader of the scoundrels was *Griffin Galle*, and praised Havelok's strength and courage. He had received several bad wounds, but, in spite of them, there was not one of the villains who had been able to resist him, and not one single one had he spared. Ubbe was greatly alarmed, and had a *leech* brought, who, on seeing Havelok's wounds, declared himself able to heal them. Then Ubbe had Havelok and Goldeboru brought to his own house, where he gave them a room high up in

the tower, only separated from his own by a thin wooden wall.

19. *Ubbe sees a bright light through the wall. He calls his men. They behold the flame, and recognize Birkabeyn's son:* ll. 2086—2157.

That night Havelok slept with his wife and his companions in the room Ubbe had given them. About the middle of the night Ubbe awoke, and saw a great light through the wall. At first he thought they sat drinking, but, peeping through the wall, he saw all five fast asleep. The light came from Havelok's mouth. Ubbe was highly astonished, and called all his men to see this wonder. They all saw it, and on Havelok's right shoulder, that was turned to them, they beheld a cross, »brighter than gold against the light. Seeing this and carefully examining his face, all knew that Havelok was the son of Birkabeyn, and the rightful heir of Denmark.

20. *All fall down before him. Ubbe acknowledges him:* ll. 2158—2187.

All fell down before him, wept and kissed him. »They kissed his feet a hundred times, his toes, his nails and the tips of his toes», so that he awoke and grew angry, thinking they had come to do him harm. But Ubbe reassured him and offered him homage, saying that he knew he was Birkabeyn's son. And now he should be king of Denmark. Tomorrow all should pay him homage.

21. *Ubbe's message to all the people. He tells them of Havelok's adventures. All pay homage to Havelok:* ll. 2188—2311.

Havelok thanked God. Next morning Ubbe summoned all the people, high and low, men and women, old and young.

He begged them all to listen, and now he told them of Birka-beyn and Godard, how Havelok had been saved by Grim, and had now come back to them. He bade them all pay him homage, and himself knelt before him. So did all the others. A message of the good tidings was sent all over Denmark, and there were not many who did not obey Ubbe's bidding. The king was greeted by all, and took their oaths of allegiance.

22. *Havelok is dubbed knight. The great feast. The army. Havelok swears to revenge himself on Godard: ll. 2312—2378.*

Havelok was now dubbed knight by Ubbe, and all the kingdom was delivered to him. A great feast was held, at which one might see the »greatest joy» that ever was. All kinds of entertainments were given: wrestling, putting the stone, games of back-gammon, music, reading of romances and singing by gleemen. Havelok gave away many good gifts, and all were entertained richly with meat and wine. The feast lasted forty days. The three sons of Grim were dubbed knights, and had land and other property given them. -- After the feast was over, Havelok had a great army assembled. Now he swore not to rest before he had avenged himself on Godard. He made fifty knights and all his five thousand attendants swear not to desist, until they had found the traitor.

23. *Godard is found and threatened. His fight with Robert the Red. Godard is taken, brought before Havelok, judged and killed: ll. 2379—2511.*

An army, of which Robert the Red was leader, went out to catch Godard, and Robert imparted to him the words the king had used, that he was to come to the king in order to receive his punishment for all the evil, he had wrought on him.

Hearing this, Godard struck Robert a heavy blow, which Robert returned. The fight become general, and the king's men slew all Godard's. Godard himself was flayed, bound and beaten, and on a »scabbed mare» he was brought before Havelok. By the earls and barons he was sentenced to be flayed alive, then dragged by the tail of a horse to the gallows and hanged. He cried for mercy, but the sentence was carried out in detail.

24. *Ubbe is made lord of all Godard's land. Havelok swears to build a priory in remembrance of Grim:* ll. 2512 - 2530.

When Godard was dead, Havelok took all his land and property, and gave it all to Ubbe. Then he swore to build a priory for black monks in remembrance of all the goodness Grim had shown him. He kept his oath, and built the priory in the town where Grim was buried, and which still bears his name.

25. *Havelok in England. Godrich goes with his army to Lincoln and then to Grimsby. The battle. Havelok conquers Godrich and sends him to Goldeboru:* ll. 2531 - 2765.

Godrich, the earl of Cornwall, heard of Havelok, how he had become king of Denmark, and had come with an army to England. He hesitated what to do. But then he thought, he would have both Havelok and Goldeboru hanged. He ordered out his army and marched with it to Lincoln. Havelok with his men lay at Grimsby, and thither Godrich sent his men, among whom were Earl *Gunter* and *Reyner*, the Earl of Chester. Havelok and his army went out against them. He himself and the three sons of Grim began the fight, and Ubbe attacked Godrich. Both were dismounted, and Ubbe was sorely wounded. Godrich fought like a lion, and the army of the Danes suffered

heavy losses. Then Havelok rode forward and talked to Godrich, asking him why he slew his good knights. He knew well the oath he had sworn to king Athelwold. Havelok exhorted him to yield the kingdom to Goldeboru of his own accord. But Godrich refused and threatened to slay Havelok, and have Goldeboru hanged. Thereupon he rushed against Havelok, and they fought. Havelok was wounded, but at last he struck Godrich on the crown so that he fell to the ground. As he rose again, Havelok cut his hand off with his sword. Now Godrich was fettered and sent to Goldeboru. She was to guard him, and none should insult him, for he was a knight and should be judged by his peers.

26. *Goldeboru is acknowledged. The judgement of Godrich. Havelok receives the homage of the English:* ll. 2766—2855.

When the English saw this, they knew that Goldeboru was the rightful heir of England. They came to ask for mercy. Havelok had her brought before the people for them to say, if they would have her for their queen. She was fetched by six earls. All knelt before her, asking her mercy, and saying that they knew well she was the daughter of king Athelwold, and the rightful heiress of the kingdom. — Now Havelok ordered Godrich to be sentenced. According to the sentence he was to be tied to an ass with his nose turned to the tail, and thus led to Lincoln he was to be burnt. This was done, and Goldeboru thanked God. — Now Havelok took homage of all the English and made them swear to remain faithful to him.

27. *Havelok rewards his friends:* ll. 2856—2927.

This done, Havelok called Reyner, the Earl of Chester, who was a bachelor, and proposed that he should marry *Gunnild*

of *Grimsby*, the daughter of Grim. Havelok praised her highly, and so Reyner consented, and married her that very day. They had five sons. — To *Bertram*, Godrich's cook, Havelok gave all the land of Godrich and made him Earl of Cornwall; besides that he married him to *Leuiue*, the second daughter of Grim.

28. *Havelok goes to London to be crowned. The Danes return to Denmark. The conclusion:* ll. 2928—3001.

The new earl soon went to his land and took possession of it. — When the two girls were married, Havelok gave his Danes rich gifts of land and property. — Then he went to London to be crowned, so that all English and Danes saw it. The coronation festivities lasted forty days. Now the Danes asked leave to return to their country. Ubbe was to govern Denmark. Havelok remained king of England for sixty years, and Goldeboru queen. All talked of the love they had to one another. They had fifteen children, of which all the males became kings.

This was the story of Havelok and Goldeboru. In their youth they were subject to treachery and felony. But they were avenged — and all is now told. .

Finally the author begs his hearers to say a paternoster in a low voice for him who has made the rime and kept awake many nights, that Christ may take his soul to God.

III.

1. The Scene of the Tale.

The question of the scene of the Havelok-tale is not without its importance for the fixing of the origins of the tradition.¹ — It will be seen that the Havelok-tale, however fabulous in many respects,¹ nevertheless allows the investigator to draw some conclusions from the geographical indications it contains. The geographical names leave no doubt as to the provinces of England, among the population of which the legend was current, and where we have to look for its formation.

I have remarked above (p. 14) that the tale appears to have been current in the once Danish provinces of England, and I may add here that, although Denmark plays so great a part in the story, it seems excluded that any part of the story was current there.

The longest section of the events of the Havelok tale plays in England, but an essential section also in Denmark. A comparison between the ample occurrence of geographical names in the first part with the total absence of such in the

¹ Cf. T. Brink, *Gesch. I*, pp. 188, 292.

second, proves almost to a certainty that those who handed down the tradition were familiar with the geography of the above-mentioned provinces, whereas their information about Denmark seems to have been confined to the knowledge of the existence of a country of that name.

This, it seems to me, needs to be accentuated, because the general outline of the tale points to the conquering Danes and not the subjugated Anglo-Saxons as the principal bearers of the tradition. And such may have been the Danes of the Danelaw in England; the fact that no Danish ports nor towns are named (but are, when they occur, always alluded to in appellatives) shows that these Danes were born in England, and had perhaps never seen the native country of their ancestors.

In the following pages I give a few instances of the geographical indications of the sections located in Denmark, and of those located in England.

Gaimar tells us of Adelbrict that

En Denemarche le regnez
Aveit quatre riches contes» (ll. 70 sq.).

When Havelok and Argentille set out for Denmark, this text runs:

Tant ont nage e governe
Ken *Denemarche* sunt arive.
En la contree u ariverent
A *une vile* sen alerent» (ll. 495 sqq.).

Cf. ll. 414, 504.

The corresponding lines of the *Lai d'Havelok* run as follows:

»Sur nief tost apresterent
Vers Danemarche mer passerent
(Quant ils sont *el pais* venu — » (ll. 645 sq.).

The town to which they go is referred to in the following way:

»Tant ont travaille et erre
Qu'il parvient *a la cite*.
La ou le seneschal manoit» (ll. 667 sq.).

Cf. ll. 54, 653.

No further geographical details are contained either in the *English lay*¹ — cf. ll. 412, 1630, 1631, 1750 — or in the *Lambeth interpolation* — cf. ll. 12, 65: the only geographical name referring to Denmark is that of the country itself.

On turning to the passages of the versions where the scene plays in England, we find several geographical names.

Gaimar tells us of Edelsi, the Briton, that

»Sue ert *Nicole*² e *Lindesie*
Des *Humbre* desken *Roteland*³ (ll. 50 sq.),

that is to say Lincolnshire.

¹ Unhappily there is a gap of 180 lines in this text, ll. 1445-1625 (cf. above p. 50). The missing lines would have given an account of Havelok's and Goldeboru's setting out for Denmark and arrival there. These lines might perhaps have contained further details as to the port where they landed, or the town in which we find them. This is, however, *not* probable, to judge from the want of such details elsewhere in the text, wherever the scene is in Denmark.

² = Lincoln. Cf. Wright, *Gaimar*, p. 3.

³ = Rutland.

Of Argentille and her mother it is said that they

»En¹ sunt ale en *Lindeseie*

A son frere, reis Edelsie» (ll. 84 sq.).

Argentille is brought up

»A *Nicole* e en *Lindeseie*» (ll. 94).

The other king, Adelbrit, who was a Dane

»Ert reis de la contree

Ki ore est *Nortfole* apelee» (ll. 53 sq.),

and

»En Bretagne avait conquis

*Cair Coel*² od tut le pais

De *Colecestre* tresken *Hoiland*³

Durout son realme on un tenant» (ll. 73 sqq.),

a district corresponding to Norfolk and Suffolk.

When Adelbriet died

»Enz la cite de *Tetford*⁴

A *Colecestre* fu portez» (ll. 80 sq.).

Cf. ll. 307, 329, 581, 604, 617, 805.

The *Lai d'Haveloc* tells us of Alsì that he

»Tenoit en la terre en sa baillie

Nicole et tote *Lindeseie*,

Cele parti vers le north

Et *Hoiland* et *Stamford*s (ll. 195 sqq.).

From Colchester.

¹ Gaimar II, p. 3, note.

² = Holland. Cf. Skeat, Cl. Pr., p. XLIII, note 2.

³ Cf. Skeat, Cl. Pr., p. XLII, note 3. — Wright, Gaimar, p. 4, note.

King Ekenbriht of this text rules

«Le roiaume vers *les Surois*»¹ (l. 201).

If by 'les Surois' is meant the population of Surrey, which in the English translation of the *Lai d'Haveloc* is considered doubtful,² this would take us much further to the South than is indicated by Gaimar.

Cf. ll. 125, 130, 142, 173, 192, 240, 493, 539, 556, 800, 996,³ 1027, 1085, 1098.

The *Lambeth interpolation* states of Edelsy that he

»Held fro *Hambre* to *Roteland* the kyngdam of *Lindescy* .
(l. 30);

and of Egelbriht that

»Holly for his kyngdam he held in his hand
All the land fro *Colchestre* right intil *Holand*» (ll. 33 sq.).

Of Grim's arrival in England it is said:

»But it ascapade from hem Grym with Hauelok
and other fyue,
And atte the hauene of *Grymesby* ther they gon
aryue» (ll. 21 sq.).

Cf. ll. 55, 82.

The *English lay* has substituted *one English* king, Athelwold, for the two kings, the Dane and the Briton, of the other

¹ Cf. C. R. I. p. 450.

² Cf. Gaimar II, p. 221.

³ Cf. Skeat, Cl. Pr., p. LXII, note 2.

versions — and made him king of all England with Winchester for his capital.

He sends a message to all his men

»Fro *Rokesburc* al into *Douere*» (l. 139),

and they come

»Bifor þe king into the halle,

At *Winchestre*, þer he lay» (ll. 157 sq.).

Godrich has Goldeboru fetched

»Fro *Winchestre*, þer she was» (l. 318).

Grim's arrival in England is referred to as follows:

»In *Humber* Grim began to lende,

In *Lindeseye*, *riht at þe north-ende*» (ll. 733 sq.).

and further:

þe stede of Grim þe name lau[h]te,

So þat *Grimsbū* [hit] calle

þat þer-offe spoken alle» (ll. 744 sqq.).

He sold his fish in Lincoln:

Ful wel he couþe *þe riht wai*

To Lincoln þe gode boru» (772 sq.).

Cf. ll. 139, 158, 320, 846, 862, 980, 1105, 1199, 1202, 2540, 2572, 2579, 2617, 2619, 2824, 2943. —

From the instances adduced, containing the name of Denmark on the one hand, and on the other the names of the Humber, Grimsby, Lincoln, Lindsey, Holland, Rutland, Stam-

ford, Thetford, Colchester, Norfolk, Roxburgh, Dover, Winchester and London, it appears fairly evident that the Havelok-traditions were confined to England and, as seems very probable, especially to Lincolnshire.¹ The occurrence of these names does not of course constitute irrefutable evidence. In the English lay the whole scene is enlarged, and this accounts for the occurrence of some names, that are not found in the earlier versions. It must be born in mind that, with exception of this and other minor geographical differences between the versions, the scene of the tale and the most important names are common to them all.

The texts extend over a space of time of about two centuries, and it is not probable that the conformity in this respect would have been so great, had not the tradition lived and been current just in the territories mentioned, to which most of the localities named belong.

With regard to Denmark the same want of geographical details prevails in all the versions. I think this fact is sufficient proof of the view I have expressed.

From a linguistical point of view much evidence cannot be drawn from the Anglo-Norman versions, which are written in a pure Anglo-Norman dialect.² The English text of Havelok presents no difficulties, being written in the Lincolnshire dialect.³

¹ Storm, *Havelok Kuan*, p. 4. — *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 91.

² Cf. Gaimar I, p. XLIV. — Cf. also Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 113. — Gaimar II, p. XXI sq.

³ Cf. Schmidt, *Zur Heimathbestimmung*, p. 80 sqq. — Holthausen, *Havelok*, p. X: § 5. — Skeat, *Cl. Pr.*, p. XLVIII. — Cf. Förster in *Anglia*, Beiblatt XIV, No. 1.

2. Historical Allusions.

After his short analysis of the English Romance TEN BRINK says: »Im Havelok haben wir festen geographischen Boden unter uns;¹ doch fehlt auch hier die Brücke, die von den Personen und Ereignissen der Fabel zur Geschichte oder zur älteren Volkssage hinüberführte — zum wenigsten fehlt eine Brücke, die wir uns ohne Gefahr anvertrauen könnten.«²

This is true not only of this English version of the tale but of all the versions.

The question of the basis of the folk-traditions, on which the Havelok-tale is built up, is one which is rendered rather difficult, partly on account of the late records extant, and partly because none of the versions are of a very original character. — The interpretation of the various versions, and — as far as historical and pseudo-historical elements go — the endeavour to trace the statements of the legend to historical facts, are both impeded by the vagueness of the allusions. These latter, moreover, differ widely in the various versions, as we have seen from the analyses given.

The variations are, however, not so great as to throw the least doubt on the identity of the tale in all the versions. The chief episodes and, above all, the leading idea, viz. Havelok's becoming king of Denmark and England or part of it

¹ Cf. above, p. 57 *sup.*

² *Gesch.* I. p. 292.

reappear unmistakably in them all. — It is true that only two names, Havelok and Grim (cf. p. 16), are common to all the versions. The change of personal names in mediæval tales is, however, a common phenomenon. This variation may depend on the insertion of various episodes at various times, when the tale was told or written down, or on the influence exercised by reminiscences from other tales known to the gleemen or others, who handed down the tradition.

The variety of the elements or motives, of which the Havelok-tale consists, has already (p. 13) been alluded to, and a classification of these motives ventured under the chief headings: pseudo-historical and purely imaginative or fabulous». To the first class we assign Havelok-Cuaran¹ in his capacity as an exiled Danish prince, who reconquers Denmark and becomes king of that country and later also of all England, as in the English lay, or of only a part of it, as in the two Anglo-Norman versions and the Lambeth interpolation. This is the framework of the Havelok-tale, but at the same time the central idea of the whole story — the purpose of it, so to say.

All the other episodes are of secondary importance, and consist of renderings of more or less common legendary motives, frequent in mediæval tales. To the latter class of motives we count those of Havelok's marriage, of his being a kitchen-boy, of the flame and the cross, of the horn, of the visions, etc.

The principles, on which the Havelok-tale is built up, are evidently the general ones on which popular tales with an historical basis are formed. Popular imagination is aroused

¹ Concerning the various forms of the word Cuaran cf. the list of names on p. 16.

either directly, by reality itself in the shape of some extraordinary person, event or deed, or by a tradition, based on this reality. Both have a lively effect upon the imagination, and are capable of inspiring the patriotic or poetical feelings of the tale-tellers or song-singers with enthusiasm. What is more natural under such circumstances and in a romantic period, than that the hero is credited with supernatural features, and has deeds ascribed to him, which he never committed, or adventures, in which he never took part?¹

The question is: which historically known events form the basis of the *Havelok-tale* — or to which persons or events, stated by history really to have existed or to have taken place, may the pseudo-historical episodes of the tale be referred?

One point is self-evident from the beginning. The pseudo-historical and romanticized folk-traditions, that form the frame in which the legendary and fabulous adventures of the *Havelok-tale* are inserted, are in some way connected with Anglo-Danish relations.² From the reappearance in all the versions of the scene where the tale plays, the conclusion has been arrived at that the tradition was current among the Danes of the Danelaw (cf. p. 58 sqq.). The final form³ in which we know the tale, as extant in the various versions, must, no doubt, be referred to the time in which the Danes were powerful in England.⁴

¹ Cf. Ahlström, *Lais-Litt.*, p. 121 sq.

² T. Brink, *Gesch.* I, p. 187.

³ T. Brink, *Gesch.* I, pp. 187. 292.

⁴ Wülker, *Gesch.*, p. 97, points out the fact that in the English lay (l. 158) Winchester and not London is the capital of Athelwold. *Havelok* goes to London, however, to be crowned (ll. 2941 sqq.).

The whole story is, as it were, a song of praise to the honour of some Danish or, perhaps rather, Anglo-Danish hero, whose great exploit is the union of Denmark and England (or part of it) in the hands of one king.

If, consequently, the events of the last period of the Scandinavian invasion¹ may be presumed to have exercised a decisive influence on the development of the Anglo-Danish heroic legend of Havelok — for Havelok is in all the versions made king of Denmark — the *first* origin of the Havelok-Cuaran character seems with equal probability to date back to a still earlier period. Although there are sufficient reasons to justify the view expressed that the Havelok-tale is an *Anglo-Danish* legend, it will be seen that the hero himself is of *Norwegian(-Irish)* descent.

The time in which the traditions originated has above (p. 14) been assigned to the middle of the 10th century. This assertion involves that the Havelok-traditions developed in proportion as the political relations of the Scandinavians and the Anglo-Saxons developed from minor invasions to the ultimate Anglo-Danish union.²

It seems as if the hero of the Havelok-legend originally was connected not with this union, which is the greatest event in the beginning of the 11th century, but with an earlier conquest of the Danelaw by an originally Norwegian viking, who at different periods was king of Dublin and of parts of England.³

¹ Worsaae, *Erobring*, pp. 237 sqq., 263 sqq. — Steenstrup III, p. 217. — *Loanwords* II, p. 279.

² Cf. Storm, *Bidrag*, p. 87.

³ Cf. A. Bugge, *Norsemen in Ireland* I, pp. 1 sqq., 9, 11 sqq. The aim of this essay is to prove — against Zimmer — that the early Scandi-

These two facts: that the Havelok-story brings us in connection with the Norwegian invaders, who came from Ireland in the middle of the 10th century, and that the same story expressly points to the time of the Anglo-Danish union, make it probable that a contamination of two traditions has taken place, or, perhaps rather, that the Havelok-story only by degrees developed into the form, which we have in the English lay.

There are especially three circumstances, from which evidence can be drawn in favour of this view. The chief reason, on which the assertion of Havelok's Norwegian origin may be based, is the occurrence of the name Cuaran¹ in three of the four versions of the tale. As far as we know, this name is applied only to the historical *Olaf Cuaran* and to the poetical *Havelok Cuaran*.

The second reason to suppose that an Olaf was the prototype of Havelok is, that there is a kind of linguistic connection between the names Olaf and Havelok.²

The third reason to assume that the Havelok-tale was composed of elements from various historical periods, is connected with the extension of Havelok's kingdom in England.

Norwegian invaders of Ireland and kings of Dublin were *Norwegians* and not *Danes*. Danes were of course also to a certain extent concerned in the wars and settlements in Ireland — much as the Norwegians in the Danelaw. Cf. p. 11, note 3 of Bugge's treatise.

¹ Cf. p. 16.

² It is not absolutely impossible that this connection was felt to a certain extent by the early chroniclers. One proof in favour of this suggestion is, that Olaf Tryggvason in the *Metrical Chronicle of England* (*Metrical Romances* II, p. 270) is called Havelok. Cf. C. R. I, pp. 436, 464, 472 sq.

In the very same texts — the two Anglo-Norman versions and the Lambeth interpolation — in which Havelok is sur-named Cuaran, he is made king of but a part of England. Thus he represents an earlier stage of the Scandinavian invasion than the Havelok of the English lay (who is not called Cuaran) and is made king of all England, thus representing a decidedly later stage of the invasion, viz. the Anglo-Danish union.

The word *Cuaran* is of Irish origin (Irish *cuairin*) and signifies a shoe, a sock, a sandal, a shoe fastened with thongs (Todd), «a brogue of untanned leather or skin, commonly worn with the hairy side outwards» (Skeat).¹

I have remarked above (p. 68) that, from a linguistic point of view, the name Havelok is connected with the name Olaf. This question has been touched on by several scholars,² but there are still some points that require an explanation.

¹ Todd, Gaedhill, pp. CI, note 1, 280(5). — *Revue Celtique* III, p. 189. — Storm, *Bidrag*, p. 175. — C. R. I, p. 430, note. — Ahlström, *Lais-Litt.*, p. 123, note 4 suggests a possibility that some misunderstood northern epithet of the famous viking is concealed in the word. I have found no proof in support of this suggestion. — Bugge, *Bidrag*, p. 131. — Skeat, *Cl. Pr.*, p. XXXVII, esp. notes 1 and 2.

² Todd, Gaedhill, *passim*; esp. pp. LXX, note 1, C, CI, note 1, 280(5) points out the fact that the bearers of the Irish name *Amblaib*, *Amblaif* etc. are identical with the northern Olafs. But he never states expressly that the names are derived from the same root. — Concerning the connection between the Irish name and the Welsh *Abloye*, *Abloec*, Todd's explanation, p. 283, note 4, is hardly intelligible: «c for f as usual in the Welsh dialect of Celtic.» — Köster, *Havelok Danske*, p. 78 (cf. above, p. 5) gives no philological reasons for his suggestions with regard to the connection between the names Olaf, *Abloec* and Havelok. — Storm, *Havelok Kyran*, p. 3 sets

The Northern hypothetical and original form is **Anu-laiþaR*.¹ In a period, when this word had been reduced to **AnlaiþR*,² from which the later Óláfr is derived, it was borrowed by the Anglo-Saxons, who pronounced it *Anláf*, and by the Irish; in Irish it is recorded as *Amhlaibh*, *Amlaf* etc.³ In the Welsh language the name *Abloyc* (*Ablocc*, *Abloc*) occurs as an Irish loanword. Before the year 1000 all Irish spirants were reduced to one sound. It is uncertain whether the Welsh spelling 'c' became current in Wales through literature, or if the final Irish sound conveyed to Welsh ears a sound which was spelt 'c'. When the Normans adopted this word they either

forth briefly the etymological correspondance between the Northern, Irish and Welsh forms of the name, and adds that *«Aveloc* — in later English *Havelok* — must be the Anglo-Norman pronunciation of *Abloc*. — Ward in C. R. I, p. 413 sq. quotes Köster and Todd: to Todd's statements regarding the interdependance of the Irish and Welsh names he adds evidence from another authority, Prof. John Rhys, at Oxford, and says: *«Professor Rhys informs us that this note is not strictly correct, but he does not question the main fact that the Irish Amhlaeibh (or Amhlaeibh) is here [Annales Cambriae; see below] and elsewhere in Welsh Chronicles represented by Abloyc.»* — Cf. Ahlström, *Lais-Litt.*, pp. 32, 123. — Skeat, *Cl. Pr.*, p. XXXVI. — Max Förster in *Anglia*, Beiblatt XIV, No. 1, p. 13 criticizes Skeat's interpretation of Storm's statements, and adds: *«Ich wenigstens habe Storm immer so verstanden, dass Anleifr, ein echt nordischer name, in keltischem munde die formen ir. Amlaib (oder wohl besser Amhlaibh) und kymr. Abloyc angenommen habe. Ob dies freilich richtig ist, ist eine offene frage, da, wie mir prof. Sommer freundlichst bestätigt, der gleichsetzung der drei namen Anleifr, Amlaib und Abloc grosse lautliche schwierigkeiten im wege stehen».*

¹ Cf. Noreen, *Grammat.* p. 52.

² Cf. Zimmer in *Z. f. d. Altherthum*, N. F. XX, p. 264, note 1.

³ Cf. Noreen in *Paul's Grundr.* I², pp. 524, 557, 566.

rendered it with the Welsh spelling, or heard a 'g'- or 'k'-sound which they spelt 'c'. — The 'm' of *Amhlaibh* was in Irish pronounced as a bilabial sound, which, having lost its nasal character, approached the sound of 'w', and was in the Welsh language spelt 'b'.¹ That the sound kept its bilabial character is evident from the Norman 'u' (v). — The Irish 'ai' was according to a Welsh sound-law rendered by 'oi', which later was reduced to 'o'. This gives us the Welsh *Abloc* and the Anglo-Norman (*H*)*av(e)lok*.

The name Havelok is consequently a normanized (and anglicized) Irish loanword in the Welsh language: the Irish word is, in its turn, an early Northern loanword, emanating from the same source as Olaf.

In the Icelandic sagas² *Ólúfr kvaran* or *kuoran* occurs several times. I give a few instances.

»*Olaf Tryggvason's saga*» tells us of the Norwegian king, Olaf Tryggvason, that he married Gyda, who is usually represented as the sister of Olaf Cuaran, and only occasionally as his daughter.³ The text runs as follows: »En þar fór um

¹ Cf. the transcript by Storm, *Havelok Kvaran*, p. 3. — Steenstrup III, p. 88, note 3.

² Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 144. — Bugge, *Bidrag*, p. 132.

³ It seems more natural that Gyda should be represented as the daughter of Cuaran than as his sister. In *Heimskringla* I, p. 313 (chap. 32) she is said to be »ung kona ok frið», and it is known that Olof Cuaran died of old age in 981, (cf. Bugge, *Bidrag*, l. c.), and that Olaf Tryggvason was in England about 994. Cf. the quotations below: in the latter one it is said that Olaf Tryggvason visited Olaf Cuaran, which is in itself impossible (cf. Steenstrup III, p. 243) — and it seems to be in harmony with the whole passage to interpret the word »mágr» as father-in-law. Cf. Storm, *Snorre Sturlason*, p. 159, note. — Todd, *Gaedhill*, p. 287(6). — Worsaae, *Erobring*, p. 247.

landit þingboð nokkut ok allir menn skyldu til þings koma: en er þing var sett, þá kom þar dróttning ein, er Gyða var nefnd, systir Oláfs kvárans, er konungr var á Írlandi í Dyflinni.»¹

Some chapters below: »Síðan fór þorir vester til Írlandz til Dyflinnar ok spurði þar til Ala: var hann þar með Oláfi konungi kváran, mági sínum.»²

In the *Landnámabók* an Icelandic poet is said to have visited Olaf Cuaran in Dublin: Þorbjörn hét maðr — — — ; hans son var þorvarðr, er átti þórunni — — — ; þeirra synir voru þeir þórarinn blindi ok þorgils orraskáld, er var með Oláfi kváran í Dyflinni.»³

In the »*Gunnlaugssaga*» Cuaran is alluded to in the following way: »Nú siglir Gunnlaugr of Englandi norðr til Dyflinnar. Þá rép þar fyrir Sigtryggr konungr, son Oláfs kvárans ok Kormlaþar dróttningar.»⁴

In the English records I have found the famous Anlaf mentioned once by the name of Cuaran in the form »Cwiran», viz. in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the entry for the year 949: »Her com Anlaf Cwiran on Norðhymbraland.»⁵

¹ Heimskringla I, p. 311 sq. (chap. 32). — Cf. Flateyrbok I, p. 150.

² Heimskringla I, p. 345 (chap. 47). — Cf. Flateyrbok I, p. 218.

³ Landnámabók, p. 139. — Cf. Steenstrup, l. c., note 1.

⁴ Gunnlaugssaga Ornstungu, p. 13 (chap. 7). Cf. also in the same page the following verses:

»Kann'k máls of skil
hvern'k mæra vil
konongmanna kon:
hann's Kvarans son
etc.»

⁵ A. S. Chron. I, p. 215.

This entry is apparently copied by Gaimar in the »*Estorie des Engles*»:

«Quant il¹ regnout el second an
Idunckes vint Anlas Quiran» (ll. 3549 sq.).²

Olaf Cuaran is mentioned by his Irish name in the Irish chronicle »*Chronicon Scotorum*» in the entry for the year 968. The translation of this text runs: Cennanus was plundered by Amhlaib Cuaran — — — .³

The name is said to occur in the »*Ulster Annals*» under the years 944 and 946, and further in the »*Four Masters*».⁴

In the two Welsh chronicles, which I have quoted, the name Abloye, Abloec occurs as follows: —

In the »*Annales Cambriae*» the death of Olaf Cuaran's cousin, Olaf Godfreyson,⁵ is recorded in the entry for the year 942: »Abloye rex moritur».⁶

In the »*Brut y Tywysogion*» (The Chronicle of the princes) the death of this king is mentioned in the entry for the year 940: Nine hundred and forty was the year of Christ, when king Abloye died.»⁷

¹ Edred.

² Gaimar I, p. 149.

Chron. Scot., p. 218 sq.

⁴ Cf. Mon. hist. Brit. I, p. 388, note a. — A. S. Chr. II, p. 89, note 3. Todd, Gaedhill, p. CI, note 1: »This Olaf is called Cuaran, or Olaf of the *Sandul*, by the Irish Annalists». Further p. 282, where Todd remarks that the »*Four Masters*» under 944 distinctly mention Olaf Cuaran. Stearns-trup III, p. 79, note 1.

⁵ Cf. Todd, Gaedhill, pp. 278, 287(8).

⁶ Ann. Cambr. p. 17.

⁷ Brut y Tywysog., pp. 20, 21.

In the following entries Olaf Cuaran himself is concerned. Under 959: »And the sons of Abloec devastate Caer Gybi and Lleyñ.»¹

Under 988: »And then Glumaen, son of Abloec, was killed.»²

Under 1013: »And than Brian, king of all Ireland — — — and many other kings were stirred up against Dublin, where Sitruc, son of Abloec, was king.»³

With few and unimportant exceptions the dates referring to Cuaran (either called Oláfr kváran as in the Icelandic sagas, or Anlaf Cwiran as in the A. S. Chronicle and the Estorie des Engles, or An(a)laphus, Onlaf etc. as in the latin chronicles, or Amhlaibh Cuaran as in the Irish chronicles, or Abloye, Abloec, as in the Welsh chronicles) coincide in almost all the records extant.

It seems advisable to give a short sketch of Olaf Cuaran's adventurous life and to note the most important events of it. No doubt he was one of the most famous vikings who warred in Ireland and England in the middle of the 10th century. It seems fairly possible that his life, so full of vicissitudes, should be remembered and glorified in the tales and romances of later times.

Olaf Cuaran's father was *Sitric*,⁴ who two years before his death was married to a sister of Athelstan.⁵ He was king

¹ Ibid., pp. 24, 25. — Cf. C. R. I, p. 431.

² Brut y Tywysog., pp. 30, 31. — Cf. Todd, Gaedhill, pp. 278, 288. C. R. I, l. c. sq.

³ Brut y Tywysog., pp. 34, 35. — Cf. C. R. I, l. c.

⁴ This name is the same as the Icelandic Sigtrygr. Cf. Zimmer in Z. f. d. Alterthum, N. F. XX, p. 266, note 1.

⁵ Cf. Steenstrup III, pp. 26, 64.

of Dublin and Northumberland, and died in 927.¹ His brother, *Godfrey*, passed over to Northumberland in order to secure his succession to the throne.² Already at this time Olaf Cuaran seems to have made efforts to the same effect, but both men were expelled by Aethelstan.³ Godfrey returned to Dublin, and Olaf Cuaran went to Scotland, where Constantin III was king.⁴ Cuaran married his daughter.⁵ In 934 Aethelstan ravaged Scotland.⁶ Godfrey died in Dublin in the same year, and his son, *Olaf Godfreyson*, succeeded to the throne in Dublin.⁷ Both cousins, Olaf Godfreyson and Olaf Cuaran, the latter aided by Constantin, his father-in-law, made great efforts to reconquer Northumberland from Aethelstan. Olaf Cuaran entered into an alliance with several Scandinavian chieftains, and Olaf Godfreyson came from Dublin with reinforcements.⁸ In 937 Olaf Cuaran sailed with a large fleet up the Humber and conquered York.⁹ Soon after followed the famous battle of Brunnanburgh.¹⁰ It will be enough to say that the Scandina-

¹ Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 64.

² Cf. Todd, Gaedhill, p. 280.

³ Cf. Todd, Gaedhill, p. 281. — Steenstrup III, p. 65.

⁴ Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 257.

⁵ Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 70, 87. — His intimate connection with the Scots is probably the reason why the «Egilssaga», p. 266 (Ch. 51), calls Olaf Cuaran (Olafr Raudi) «Könungr a Scotlandi», and adds that he was «Sközkr a faudr-kyni». Cf. the expression «Olafr Skotakönungr in Ch. 52, p. 269.

⁶ Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 70 sq. — Bugge, Bidrag, p. 131: «Ethelred» seems to be a slip of the pen for Aethelstan.

⁷ Cf. Todd, Gaedhill, p. 281.

⁸ Cf. Todd, Gaedhill, pp. 281, 282. — Steenstrup III, p. 72.

⁹ Cf. Steenstrup, I. c.

¹⁰ Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 73 sqq.

vians, as is well known, were entirely defeated: Olaf Cuaran, who fled from the country, seems to have taken part in ravages in Ireland during the following years.¹ When in 940 Aethelstan died, and was succeeded by Edmund, Olaf Cuaran returned to York from Dublin.² The Northumbrians made him king, and great numbers of the Scandinavian settlers joined him. According to a treaty between Edmund and Olaf Cuaran, the latter was to rule the country north of Watlingastræt, and Edmund the country south of this boundary.³ In the same year, 943, Olaf Cuaran was baptized.⁴ Olaf Godfreyson, who had also taken part in this expedition, had been killed one or two years before this time (cf. the quotations above, p. 73). His brother *Ragnvald*, who is recorded as joint king north of Watlingastræt, was baptized too.⁵ The peace was, however, of short duration, for in 944 king Edmund expelled the two kings.⁶ According to the Irish annalists Olaf Cuaran returned to Dublin, and warred there.⁷

In 946 Edmund died and Edred became king of the Anglo-Saxons. In the Northern Scandinavian territories one Erik had in the mean-time been made king of York.⁸ In 949 Olaf Cuaran once more appeared as claimant of the Northumbrian throne, and was supported by the Scots and his Dubliners.⁹ (Cf. above

¹ Cf. Todd, Gaedhill, p. 282. — Steenstrup III, p. 73.

² Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 79.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 81.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Cf. Todd, Gaedhill, p. 284 sq.

⁸ Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 86.

⁹ Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 87.

the entries of the A. S. Chr. and the *Estorie des Engles*, referring to Anlaf Cwiran). He conquered the whole of Bernicia, but, having been expelled a few years later, he again returned to Dublin,¹ and in 953 he is again recorded as king of Dublin and as leader of ravaging expeditions in Ireland.² His last great attempt was the battle at Tara in 980.³ Having lost this battle he went on a pilgrimage to Iona, where he died in 981.⁴

From this brief outline of Olaf Cuaran's life, compared with the account given of the Havelok-tale, it is evident that there is no *close* connection between his history and the saga. There are in the Havelok-Cuaran story no details, with exception of the names Cuaran and Havelok, that suggest any striking resemblances between this saga and Cuaran's history.

Gaimar offers a few details from which the conclusion may be drawn, that some of his authorities identified the historical with the poetical hero, to a certain extent at least.

Following the fashion of the time in which he wrote, and influenced by Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose *Historia Regum Britannie* he was one of the first to translate in the first, now lost, part of his work, the *Estorie des Bretuns*.⁵ Gaimar connects the Havelok-tale with the Arthurian cycle. In line 41 he quotes Gildas:

¹ Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 88.

² Cf. Todd, *Gaedhull*, p. 285 sq. — Steenstrup III, p. 143 sqq.

— Cf. Todd, *Gaedhull*, p. 286. — Steenstrup III, p. 146.

³ Cf. Steenstrup III, p. 147. — Bugge, *Bidrag*, p. 132.

⁵ *Hist. Littéraire* XIII, p. 63 sqq. — De La Rue, *Essais* II, p. 104 sqq. — T. Brink, *Gesch.* I, p. 174. — Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 113. — Gröber's *Grundr.* II: 1, p. 472 sq.

»Si eo est veir ke Gilde dist
En la geste, trova escrit
Ke dous reis out ja en Bretaigne
Quant *Costentin* estait chevetaigne;
Cil Costentin li nies Arthur,
Ki out lespee Calburc» (ll. 41 sqq.)¹

Constantin occurs in Geoffrey of Monmouth's »*Historia*» as Arthur's successor,² and in the »*Epistola Gildas*.»³ But as in the latter of these works there is not the least mention of any other of the persons concerned in the Havelok-tale, we may assume that Gaimar's reference to the »geste» of Gildas goes back to some work of his, now lost to us.⁴

Though the name Constantin is here taken from the »*Historia Regum Britanniae*»⁵ or from Gildas, it certainly brings King Constantin of Scotland to our minds (cf. above p. 75). The remarks made by Ward seem to draw the only conclusion that is possible from this coincidence. If Gaimar found right at the beginning of the version of the Havelok-tale, to which he owes the interpolation in the »*Estorie*», a reference to a King Constantin, this might perhaps have referred to Olaf Cuarans father-in-law, though »Gaimar, with his head full of the Brut, would naturally understand it to mean the Constantine who succeeded king Arthur».⁶ Gaimar never mentions the Scotch king, and seems to be ignorant of the part he played

¹ Gaimar I, p. 3. Cf. l. 4, p. 1. — Wendeburg, G. von Monmouth, p. 16.

² Lib. XI, c. 2, 3, 4, 5.

³ Mon. Hist. Brit. I, p. 16. C. D.

⁴ Cf. Gaimar II, p. XX.

⁵ Cf. Gaimar II, p. XVII.

⁶ C. R. I. p. 426.

in Olaf Cuaran's history. This helps to prove that it was perfectly natural for Gaimar to think of the Constantin that Monmouth or Gildas suggested to him, and by connecting the Havelok-tale with this king, to transfer it to the sixth century.

This combination of Gaimar's proves, consequently, that he was ignorant of the connection between Olaf Cuaran and Havelok, which was suggested to some of his authorities by the identity of the nicknames. For there is in the »*Estorie des Engles*» another point of departure from which the conclusion may be drawn that there existed among the authorities, from which Gaimar compiled his work,¹ some one, to whom the relation between Olaf Cuaran and Havelok Cuaran was not quite unknown. Many passages of the »*Estorie des Engles*» correspond closely with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.² When Gaimar reaches the year 871 his narrative of the battle of Ashdown closely follows the words of the Chronicle: *þær wearð Sidroc eorl ofslægen se ealda & Sidroc se zeonza*.³ The corresponding passage of the »*Estorie*» runs as follows:

»*Sydroc le veil ki ferir sout*
E od lui le iouene Sydroc
Ki fu parent le rei Hevelok» (ll. 2986 sqq.).⁴

We have seen above that Olaf Cuaran's father was named Sitric, and this was also the name of one of his sons.⁵ It

¹ Cf. Gaimar II, p. XVII sq. — C. R. I, p. 425.

² Gaimar II, pp. XIX sqq., XXIII sqq.

³ A. S. Chr. I, p. 139.

⁴ Gaimar I, p. 124.

⁵ Todd, Gaedhill, p. 278.

seems utterly improbable that the older Sydroc here stands for Olaf Cuaran's father, and it *is* absolutely impossible that his son can be meant. The fact remains, nevertheless, that Havelok is connected with a name which was common in Olaf Cuaran's family, and it is evident that the chroniclers had formed a notion of a kind of connection between the two heroes. This notion must however have been very vague. For when Gaimar reaches the year 949, and inserts in his *Estorie* the name Cwiran, given by the A. S. Chronicle, he omits to make references of any kind to his former entry.¹

According to Storm's opinion the etymological connection between the names Olaf and Havelok is sufficient proof for the *identity* of the two heroes. He adds: The true history of Olave Cuaran in England cannot but confirm these conclusions.²

It seems, however, as if the relation of the two names, and the attaching of the name Cuaran to both, do not justify more than the conclusion that there was a certain, limited connection between the two heroes. At all events a comparison between Olaf Cuaran's history and the pseudo-historical elements of the Havelok-tale does not prove their identity.

It is true that the name Havelok is nothing but a normanized form of the Welsh Abloyc, and that the nickname is attached to both Olaf and Havelok. But this proves nothing else than that Olaf Cuaran must have enjoyed a great popularity among the population of the northern Scandinavian provinces of England. His name must have been exceedingly well fitted for that of a hero in a Scandinavian legend, who

¹ Cf. C. R. I. p. 139.

² Storm, Havelok Kvaran, p. 3.

acts against the native Anglo-Saxon population. The historical folk-traditions that were current in these provinces were likely to concentrate round a name so famous as that of Olaf Cuaran, even although, as is decidedly the case with the Havelok-traditions, these were inspired chiefly by the events of later times. The two Anglo-Norman versions and, following them, the Lambeth interpolation, are the versions which should reflect most closely the episodes in Olaf Cuaran's history. In these versions Havelok is made king of only the Danelaw, and it is a fact that Olaf Cuaran was no more than that. But also in these versions Havelok is made king of Denmark. In order to find a parallel to this fact in Olaf Cuaran's history, it would be necessary to assume that those who handed down the tradition so radically altered it as to change a *Norwegian king in Ireland* into a *Danish king of Denmark* — which is very improbable.

An identification of Olaf Cuaran and Havelok is by no means justified by the fact that Olaf Cuaran succeeded in making himself king of the Danelaw, nor by the single striking resemblance that lies in the identity of the nicknames. We believe that Olaf Cuaran's name, that was connected with so many fights between the Scandinavians and the Anglo-Saxons, became the one to which the deeds of a later Scandinavian hero were attached. Olaf Cuaran's exploits may have been the foundation of a series of traditions which were absorbed in the Havelok-traditions. His deeds were, however, forgotten in the important events that took place in the last decade of the 10th and in the beginning of the 11th century. These have played a much greater part in the formation of the Havelok-traditions than the events of the middle of the 10th century. The latter were forgotten, but the famous name of

Olaf Cuaran remained. It seems, consequently, as if the supposed identity of the two heroes, the historical and the poetical, might be reduced to an *identity of names*.

Not only traditions which were connected with the history of Olaf Cuaran have in the course of time been confused with the Havelok-saga. Those who handed down the Havelok-traditions confounded them also with other pseudo-historical elements. — Gaimar, the *Lai d'Haveloc* and the Lambeth interpolation all make Havelok the son of the Danish king Gunter. This name cannot have been taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, in whose *Historia* no Danish king of this name occurs.¹ Gunter is connected with Arthur, who goes to his land and conquers it, and this would, as we have seen above (p. 78), transfer the Havelok-tale to the sixth century. The whole of this passage is of course due to confusion on the part of the chroniclers. It will be seen, that the occurrence of Gunter in the Havelok-tale is to be ascribed to a similar tradition as that which Gaimar follows in his *»Estorie*, when he connects Havelok with the Sitric who fought in the battle of Ashdown.

When *Pierre de Langtoft* in his *»Chronicle* reaches the year 871, and treats of the fights of King Alfred with the Danish invader, *Guthrum*, he says:

»Tant cum vers le north Alfred est allez,
Gountere le pere Havelok de Danays ray clamez
Of grant chivalerye est Engleterre entrez
Destrut ad les viles et arses les citez.»²

¹ Cf. Gaimar I, p. 22, l. 524. King *»Aschis»* mentioned here is evidently taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lib. XI, chap. 2, where he is called *Aschillius of Dacia*.

² Langtoft I, p. 318.

Robert Manning of Brunne following Langtoft, translates the line in question thus:

»Havelok fader he was, Gunter was his name.»¹

This Gountere or Gunter of the quoted texts is easily recognized as the historical Danish invader and king of East Anglia, Guþrum (Goþrum, Goþorm, Guþram), who was baptized by King Alfred, and assumed the name of Aethelstan.² The northern name Guþorm was in England mixed up with Gupere, which name to the ears of the Anglo-Norman chronicler conveyed another form of the same word, Gountere, which was familiar to him.³ Since he connects him with Arthur, it is evident that Gaimar was ignorant of the fact that his Gunter and the historical king Guþrum, were identical. When he reaches the time of King Alfred he calls the Danish king by his two usual names.

From what source the original of the three mentioned versions drew the conclusion that Havelok was the son of king Gunter, it is impossible to say, and the whole passage seems very hard to explain. It is possible that the fact, that king Guþrum (or Gunter) once had been king of an essentially Danish province, gave rise to the tradition of Havelok's being his son. With reference to Munch, Ward suggests that Guþrum (often shortened into Gorm) was identical with «Gormo Anglicus» and «Gorm the Old», and, if this be true, it would account for king Gunter being »styled king of Denmark».⁴ — At all events Havelok's connection with Gunter did not originate with

¹ Heame, *Langtoft-Brunne* I, p. 25.

² Cf. *Steenstrup* II, p. 74.

³ *C. R. I.*, p. 442. Stephens, *King Wadere's lay*, p. 21.

⁴ Cf. *C. R. I.*, p. 443 sq. Munch, *N. F. H. I.*, I, p. 628 sq.

Langtoft, who wrote in the beginning of the 14th century.¹ It seems likely that his insertion of Havelok in his »Chronicle« is due to some version of the Havelok-tale itself.

How confused the view was which the old chroniclers held about Havelok and the traditions connected with his life, is clearly seen from the introduction in the Havelok-tale of Guþrum-Gunter, who, as we have seen, belongs to the time of king Alfred; and further, by the occurrence in the same versions, in which Gunter is made father of Havelok, of the name Cuaran, which, in its turn, brings the story in connection with the events of the middle of the 10th century.

Another proof of this confusion lies in the view Gaimar held on the time when the Danes first came to England. We have already touched on the reference to Havelok, made by Gaimar in his »Estorie«, when he comes to the battle of Ashdown in the latter part of the 9th century. In two other places in the »Estorie« Havelok's name occurs in a connection from which the conclusion may be drawn, that, according to Gaimar's opinion, Danes had been rulers of Britain long before the Saxons came to the country, and that Havelok was one of the kings of these early Danes.

In the introduction of the »Estorie des Engles« we are told that the Saxons under Cerdic and Cynric took possession of England, although they were much hated *by the Danes* (l. 37). Consequently the Danes, according to Gaimar, must have been in the country already then, *i. e.* before the middle of the 6th century. In the narrative of these events,² which corre-

¹ Cf. Körting, p. 124. — Langtoft I, p. XII. — T. Brink I, p. 357.

² Cf. C. R. I, p. 424 sq. — Mon. Hist. Brit. I, p. 775, note d. — Gaimar II, p. 27, note.

sponds with the entries of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the years 495—556, the Havelok-tale is inserted, and some lines further on we find another statement referring to the Danes and to Havelok:

»En Norfolc erent les Daneis
Del tens ke *Havelok* fu reis:
Si defendeient cel pais
E cel ki fu al reis *Eldelsis*» (ll. 897 sqq.).¹

Another allusion to the same effect occurs in the *Estorie*, when the compiler comes to the events told by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 787. The Chronicle says, that in the days when Beorhtric took Eadburgh, the daughter of king Offa, to wife, «comon ærest III scipu Norðmanna — — — — þæt wæron þa ærestan scipu Denisera manna þe Anzelecyntes land zesohtan . . .» Gaimar alludes to this entry, but adds with regard to the Danes, though it is hard to say on what he bases his information:

»Car entrels eurent regarde
E dit ke co est lur herite,
E mulz homes de lur linage
Urent le regne en heritage.
Ainceis ke Engleis i entrast
Ne home de Sessoigne i habitast:
Li reis Danes² tint le regnez
Ki de Denemarche fu nez,
Si fist *Ailbrith* e *Havelok*
E plus en nomerent ovoc.» (ll. 2077 sqq.).³

¹ Gaimar I, p. 37.

² A. S. Chr. I, p. 96. — Cf. Loanwords II, p. 262 sq.

³ Cf. Saxo, Lib. I.

⁴ Gaimar I, p. 83.

There is another passage in the »Estorie» illustrating the view Gaimar held on the age of the Danish rule in England.¹

— The two kings in England, named by Gaimar *Adelbriect* and *Edelsi*, cannot be identified. The corresponding English names are, however, common in the chronicles.² The French spelling of Adelbriect corresponds with an English *Aepelbryht* or *Aepelberht*, while Edelsi stands for *Aepelsige*.³ In l. 2085 of the »Estorie» Gaimar writes *Ailbrith*, which name probably is to be derived from *Ezelbryht*. On coins from the time of Aepelred (978–1017) this name occurs alternating with that of Aezelbryht, although the two names are of different etymological origin.⁴ In the *Lai d'Haveloc* the kings are called *Ekenbryht* and *Alsi*, whereas the Lambeth interpolation writes *Egelbryht* and *Edelsy*. Ekenbryht is perhaps the same name

¹ This passage, in which there is no direct reference to Havelok, is contained in the narrative of the meeting of Cnut and Edmond Ironside in 1016. Gaimar makes Cnut say (Gaimar I, p. 183):

»E bien sachez, loigtenement
Lurent Daneis, nostre parent,
Pres de mil anz lout Dane anceis
Ke une i entrast Certiz li reis» (ll. 4315 sqq.).

This idea of Gaimar's, represented by the three last quotations, is not without parallels in other mediæval compilations. The *Ynglingasaga* claims the same for the northern hero, Ivar Vidfamne, viz. that he conquered a part of England (*Heimskringla* I, p. 74: chap. 41). — Saxo (Lib. II, p. 46 sq.) makes King Frode defeat Britons and Scots: Hamlet (Lib. IV, p. 104 sq.) wars with the Britons, and a second king Frode (Lib. V, pp. 166, 168 sq.) with the Britons and the Irish. — Cf. Steenstrup I, p. 12 sq.

² Cf. Ahlström, *Lais-Litt.*, p. 123 sq.

³ Searle, *Onomast.*, p. 222.

⁴ Cf. Björkman in *Herrig's Arch. f. d. n. Spr.*, Bd. 101, 1898, p. 393. — Morsbach, *King Horn*, p. 305 is of a somewhat different opinion.

as the English *Ecgbryht* (cf. the spellings *Achebrit* of mss. D. & L. of the »*Estorie des Engles* and *Echebrit* of ms. P. of the *Lai d'Haveloc*.) — Also occurs alternating with *Aelfsige*.¹

For these two kings the English lay has substituted *Athelwold*, and made him king of all England. He cannot be identified. — *Birkabeyn* is in this version the name of Havelok's father, the king of Denmark. This name has originally nothing at all to do with the Havelok-traditions. It could not have been known in England before the end of the 12th century. The name »*Birkebeinar*» means in English »birch-legged fellows». ² In 1174 it was given by Norwegian peasants to a set of outlaws who formed a political party in Norway, ³ and who later on chose Sverre Sigurdson for their leader. The »*Birkebeinar*» made him their king, and in the succeeding years he conquered all Norway with their help. In 1184 he was acknowledged as sole king of the country. ⁴ The Latin Chronicle »*Gesta Henrici II et Richardi I*», composed in England towards the end of the 12th century, and commonly attributed to *Benedict of Peterborough*, contains some particulars with regard to Sverre's wars and his accession to the throne. ⁵ In a somewhat different shape this chronicle forms a part of *Roger de Hoveden's* big Latin »*Chronica*», ⁶ which was composed not long after Benedict's *Gesta*. In Hoveden the name of Sverre also occurs, but the author calls him *Sverus Birkebein*. ⁷

¹ Searle, *Onomast.*, p. 20 sq.

² C. R. I, p. 440.

³ Munch, N. F. H. III, p. 45 sq.

⁴ Munch, N. F. H. III, p. 180 sq.

⁵ Bened. of Peterb. I, pp. 266 sqq., 320.

⁶ Rog. de Hoveden I, p. II.

⁷ Rog. de Hoveden II, pp. 214 sqq., 290; III, p. 270 sqq.; IV, pp. 25, 162.

It is, as STORM¹ and WARD² suggest, very probable that the name owes its occurrence in the Havelok-tale to Hoveden's chronicle. It may be supposed that the Latin chroniclers did not understand the word; the English poet or poets who handed down the Havelok-traditions evidently did not do so, but they may have known that it was originally a Scandinavian name, and therefore they called Havelok's father Birkabeyn.

We have now touched on all the chief points but one with regard to the formation of the historical frame of the Havelok-tale. Our investigation has led to the result, that there is, among all these historical allusions in the tale, none from which a full and thorough historical parallel may be drawn. — The remaining allusions refer especially to Havelok in his capacity of a *Danish king* who conquers England.

From the end of the 10th century onwards the Scandinavian invasions display a thorough change of character. Having consisted up to this time chiefly of minor ravaging expeditions, they now develop into a great political conquest. The idea of a united kingdom on both sides of the North Sea did not originate until the time when the Scandinavians were exceedingly strong in England. The man who first realized this idea of a united kingdom was the Danish king Sven Tveskæg; the completion of the scheme was left to his successor, Cnut. It seems quite natural to refer the definite formation of the Havelok-tale to this time. The popular fancy of the Danes in England would scarcely have been able, before this time, to imagine a conqueror who was not only made king

¹ Storm, Havelok kvæden, p. 4.

² C. R. L. p. 119.

of the Danelaw, or, as in the English lay, of all England, but at the same time *king of Denmark*, as in *all* the versions.

The history of *Sven Tveskæg* cannot but confirm these conclusions. It contains some details that to some extent remind one of the most important events of Havelok's life: his expulsion from his own country, and his two big conquering exploits:¹ that of Denmark and that of England. Sven Tveskæg was, as we know, expelled from Denmark, and went to England.² In 988 he returned to Denmark, and, after gaining a battle, he succeeded his father as king of this country. He now swore to conquer England.³ It is too well known to require further comment, how after years of strife and hardship Sven Tveskæg in 1013 became king of England, thus for the first time uniting England and Denmark in the hands of one king.

With exception of these few facts, referring to Sven Tveskæg, to which the frame of the Havelok-tale renders a parallel, it is fairly evident that we have no right to consider Sven as the only prototype of the Havelok of the legend. On the other hand it seems as if the events that took place in England and Denmark during his time, rather than those of Olaf Cuaran's time, had influenced the formation of the Havelok-story, even if, as we know, the hero in some versions bears Cuaran's name.

Here we may insert a few words with regard to Storm's opinion on the relation between the Havelok-story and the

¹ Cf. Madden, p. XXXVIII.

² Maurer, *Bekehrung* I, p. 256 sq. — Worsaae, *Erobring*, p. 240 sq.

³ Worsaae, *Erobring*, p. 244.

⁴ Worsaae, *Erobring*, p. 245.

romance of Guy of Warwick. Olaf Cuaran was, as we know, defeated at Brunnanburgh, but in all the versions of the Havelok-tale Danish sympathies are clearly marked and there is no mention made of any defeat of the Danes. The open space», says Storm, »is filled up by an *English* tale, which represents Aveloc as the declared foe of the English people, viz. by the tale of the fight between Guy of Warwick and the heathen giant Colebrand. Storm owes this suggestion to the occurrence of the name *Auelocke* instead of Anlaf in the Percy Folio Ms. version of »Guy and Colebrande». ¹ It is, however, hard to accept this suggestion of Storm's, for this »Auelocke» cannot, any more than the »Hauelok» of the Metrical Chronicle of England (cf. above, p. 68, note 2), be the same as our Havelok. Auelocke is the declared foe of the English», it is true, but at the same time it must be born in mind, that he is forced to flee back to Denmark. This is the very contrary to what Havelok does -- when *he* comes to England as Danish king he conquers the English, and remains in the country. We believe that the remark made by Furnivall ² is quite correct: the change here [of Auelocke for Anlaf] is, no doubt, due to the Romance of Havelok the Dane».

We are of the opinion that Havelok may, from an historical point of view, be considered as an expression of Scandinavianism in England, and that it is impossible to prove that the character of the Danish prince is copied exclusively from one single person. Havelok's nickname suggests his con-

¹ P. Fol. Ms. II, p. 509, sq. This change of names occurs also in the edition printed by Copland. Cf. P. Fol. Ms. II, p. 511. Tanner, Guy von Warwick, p. 53. — Körting, p. 100. — C. R. I, pp. 473, 500.

² P. Fol. Ms. II, p. 528, note 2.

nection with the Norwegian viking Olaf Cuaran; his being the son of a Danish king in Denmark, his becoming king of Denmark, his conquest of England and the friendly relations between the two countries, all these facts remind one of Sven Tveskæg; and when, as in the English lay, he goes to *London* to be crowned, this circumstance points to the time of Cnut.¹

¹ Steenstrup III, p. 287. — Cf. T. Brink, p. 292.

IV.

Remarks on the Fabulous Episodes.

We have remarked above (p. 13) that legendary and fabulous episodes are inserted in the pseudo-historical frame of the Havelok-tale; and a classification of these episodes will be found on the same page.

Some of Havelok's romantic adventures are purely conventional, and consequently cannot be considered as especially characteristic for the Havelok-tale.

In the Arthurian allusions the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth is obvious: Arthur plays no other part in the story than that of a conventional back-ground, which was used as accessories in mediæval tales to a very wide extent.

A common romantic combination, exemplified in most literatures, is the exiled prince who marries a princess and reconquers his own country. We find this motive used in the various versions of the romance of *Horn*, which in some respects is not altogether dissimilar from the Havelok-story. The historical core of the Horn saga may be less distinctly

alluded to, and perhaps it belongs to an earlier period than the Havelok-tale. But the imaginative features, which abound in the romances of Horn, and have contributed to the formations of the legends we know, point to the same romantic notions as those represented by the Havelok-tale. Horn is, like Havelok, of Scandinavian origin. In both tales foreign kings come to war upon the fathers of these two, conquer their countries, and the princes, in an early age, are forced to flee in order to save their lives. In the foreign countries to which they come they have many adventures, the chief one being that Horn as well as Havelok marries the king's daughter. Both heroes return to their native countries, revenge themselves on those who once did them wrong, and reconquer their lawful inheritance.¹ But the parallelism of the two stories does not exceed this outline. In the romance of Horn one may distinguish the revenge motive from the decisive part love plays in the development of events — the separation and reunion of faithful lovers. In the Havelok-tale love is of no importance at all. The turning-point is caused by other reasons, chiefly by a dream or a vision. In the Anglo-Norman versions Havelok is, moreover, unconscious of his royal descent.

There is another story, known and famous throughout the world, which is to some extent cognate with the Havelok-tale. GRUNDTVIG, called Havelok »the mythical half-brother of *Hamlet*». ² WARD remarks that »this expression is perhaps too strong,» ³ and the total want of correspondance between the characters of Saxo's Amlethus and of our hero is sufficient

¹ Cf. T. Brink, pp. 283 sqq., 290.

² Nord. Myt., p. 556.

³ C. R. I, p. 435.

reason to justify this remark. Yet there is, after a fashion, a kind of resemblance between the two stories. It is, however, as is the case with regard to the above-mentioned correspondance between the romances of Havelok and Horn, confined to the scenes where the tales play, and to the social standing and nationality of the persons. Amlethus¹ is, like Havelok, a Danish prince who saves his life by going to England, and both marry the daughters of kings of that country. Both heroes return to Denmark, accompanied by their wives (Amlethus by his second wife Hermuthruda).² In Denmark they secure their accession to the Danish throne by killing the usurpers. Both then defeat the English king; Amlethus as well as Havelok lose the first day's battle, but succeed the next day by means of the same stratagem.³

From this comparative outline it is seen that there are several points of *close* resemblance between the tales of Havelok and Amlethus.⁴ Although some of the corresponding items are old and common elements of romance, *e. g.* the revenge-motives and those of the marriage with a foreign princess, it is evident that Saxo or his surroundings (Lukas the English-

¹ Cf. Saxo, Lib. III, IV, pp. 87—106.

² Cf. the parallel drawn by Ward, C. R. I, l. c., between the Scotch queen and Olaf Cuaran's wives. -- Cf. also Todd, Gaedhill, p. CXLVIII, note 3.

³ Cf. Olrik, Sakses Oldhist. II, pp. 179, 312.

⁴ Israel Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, London 1898, has tried to identify Havelok and Hamlet. As his work has not been accessible to me, I can only refer to E. Mogk, *Anglia Beiblatt* IX, 1898, Nos. VII and VIII, p. 226: Nicht geglückt halte ich die identifizierung des Havelok und Hamlet, und doch bildet diese ein wichtiges glied im aufbau der ganzen inhaltsreichen einleitung. -- Cf. also *The Athenaeum*, 1896, Nov. 14th, No. 3603, p. 601.

man)¹ were familiar with subjects, treated in England in the 12th century. OLRIK states in his large work on the sources of Saxo that there are in the tale of Amlethus three distinct episodes that have found their way from the west of Europe to Denmark.² One of these episodes is the stratagem by which Havelok, having lost the first day's battle against Edelsi-Alsi, at last overcomes him.³ In Saxo the circumstances are almost quite the same. Amlethus props up the dead men, dressed in full array, with stones, and some of them are, moreover, fixed on to their horses. When, on the next morning the enemies catch sight of this arrangement, it seems to them as if Amlethus had got strong reinforcements, and, adds Saxo: Quo aspectu terriți Britanni pugnam percurrere fuga, a mortuis superati, quos vivos oppresserant.⁴

The same episode returns once more in Saxo's *Gesta*, viz. in the small tale of Fridlev.⁵ It is, except here and in the Hamlet-tale, not known to occur elsewhere in early northern literature.⁶ Fridlev, who wars in Britain (Britannia), suffers a large defeat. By putting the dead in an upright position and arranging them in ranks, he makes his enemies believe that he has lost no men at all, and consequently they dare not continue the fight.⁷

¹ Cf. Olrik, *Saksnes Oldhist.* II, p. 309 sq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 311.

³ Cf. above p. 37 sq.

⁴ Saxo, *Lib. IV*, p. 105.

⁵ Olrik, *Saksnes Oldhist.* II, p. 47, note 1.

⁶ Olrik, *Saksnes Oldhist.* II, p. 178.

⁷ Saxo, *Lib. IV*, p. 120. — Cf. C. R. I, p. 436. — Cf. the modern repetition of the same motive in Dumas, *Les trois mousquetaires*.

In the French *chanson de geste*, *Ogier le Danois*, the same motive returns in a somewhat varied shape. This poem is one of the few early French epics the author of which is known. His name is *Raimbert de Paris*, and he lived towards the end of the 12th century.¹ The section of his vast poem in which the episode in question occurs, is known as »*La chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche*».² During the time when Ogier had locked himself up in the castle of »*Castlefort*», he amused himself by inventing a stratagem »*veritablement primitif*». He made dummies of wood and dressed them with horse-hair, taken from the »wonderful» tail of his horse, *Broiefort*. Then he armed his dummies and placed them on the walls, to the great astonishment of the French. They believed all Ogier's men to be killed, and could not explain the fact that they now saw so many.

»*Nis Kallemainne en est tos eperdus:*

'*Dex*', *dist li rois*, '*ki es et tos jors fus*,

De quelx diables sont or ces gens venus?'³

The emperor makes his men shoot at them, and his son, »*Kalles*», cries and shouts to them; »but they were made of wood», adds the poet, »and could not answer». — Soon after Ogier leaves the castle, and his dummies are of no further importance to the development of incidents in the poem.⁴

¹ Gröber's *Grundr.* II: 1, p. 546 sq.

² Cf. the analyses in: *Hist. Littéraire* XX, p. 688 sqq. — Gautier, *Epopées* III, pp. 240 sqq., 249. — Nyrop, *Heltedigtning*, pp. 169 sqq., esp. 173. — Junker, *Grundr. de franz. Litt.*, p. 44 sqq.

³ *Raimbert, Ogier* II, p. 339, ll. 8400 sqq. — Cf. *Bartsch-Horning*, p. 147.

⁴ *Raimbert, Ogier* II, p. 339 sqq., ll. 8383—8496. — Cf. *Monatsberichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1866, Aug. 6th, p. 585 sq.

A similar artifice is used against Charlemagne in *Philomena*, a Provençal chronicle from the 13th century.¹

It would, however, take us much too far out of our way to set forth all the instances of the use of this stratagem. It may be sufficient to say that it occurs not only in the literature of the ancient *Greeks*² and *Romans*;³ in the *Spanish*,⁴ *Italian*⁵ and *Polish*⁶ literatures, but that it is noted also among the tales of the old inhabitants of Central America.⁷

— When Havelok parts from Grim he goes, as we know, to the king's court, and lives there in the position of a kitchenboy or scullion. He is renowned for his great strength and other qualities. In the French epic, *Aliscans*, we meet with a character, *Rainouart*, who in many respects resembles Havelok. The «*Aliscans*» is the oldest of the twenty-four branches or more or less independent poems, that together constitute the huge «*Geste de Guillaume*». GASTON PARIS considered the «*Aliscans*» to be the work of the poet *Jou-deus de Brie*, who wrote in Sicily about 1170 and who is generally regarded as the author of the two subsequent branches, the «*Bataille Loquifer*» and the «*Moniage Rai-*

¹ Cf. Nyrop, *Heltedigtning*, p. 158. — Gautier, *Epopées* I, p. 138 sq. — C. R. I, p. 596 sqq.

² Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, p. 78.

³ Nyrop, *Heltedigtning*, p. 406.

⁴ Wolf, Hofman, *Prim. y Flor de Rom.*, II, p. 43 sqq. No. 133. Cf. Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, p. 77. — Nyrop, *Heltedigtning*, p. 173, note 2.

⁵ Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, p. 78.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, p. 76 sq.

⁸ Gautier, *Epopées* IV, p. 4. For mss. etc. cf. pp. 22; esp. 25, 469. — *Hist. Littéraire* XXII, p. 548 sq.

nouart.¹ GAUTIER is, however, of the opinion that it is anonymous, though he recognizes the close resemblance in style between all three of the mentioned poems.²

The second section of the »Aliscans» is often called »Rainouart», owing to the important part this giant plays in the narrative.³ Rainouart lives, like Havelok, in exile. When still a child he is, like him, brought to a foreign country (France) and is employed in the king's kitchen. He makes a secret of his birth,⁴ just as Havelok does in the English lay. In ll. 3451 sqq.⁵ the French poet gives a description of Rainouart which in several respects reminds one of the one given of Havelok in the various versions. Rainouart is, like Havelok, a very fine youth, strongly built and, in spite of his naked feet and bad clothes, of a splendid exterior. He possesses, like Havelok, an enormous muscular strength: none can beat him, and he is, like Havelok, capable of lifting heavier burdens than anyone else, he is even able to carry cartloads, like Havelok of the English lay (cf. above, p. 45), and nobody succeeds in throwing the stone as far as he does. Both heroes are, when still living in the kitchen, exposed to the fooleries and the jokes of their fellow-servants, and both understand equally well how to revenge themselves on the jokers. Rainouart has, like Havelok, an immense appetite

¹ Manuel, p. 69.

² Gautier, *Epopées IV*, pp. 17, 19, 468 sq. — Gröber's *Grundr.* II: 1. p. 554. — Nyrop, *Heltedigtning* 147.

³ Cf. the analyses in *Hist. Littéraire XXII*, p. 529 sqq. — Gautier, *Epopées IV*, p. 519 sqq. — Nyrop, *Heltedigtning*, p. 146 sqq. — P. Paris, *Mscr.* III, p. 153 sq.

⁴ Jonckbloet, *Guill. d'Orange I*, p. 305, ll. 3438 sqq., 3510 sqq.

⁵ Jonckbloet, *l. c.*, p. 306 sqq.

(ll. 3815 sqq.).¹ Another point of correspondence may perhaps be found between the huge club of wood, the *«tinel»*, which is the only weapon Rainouart cares for, and the wooden bar, with which Havelok defends himself in the house of Bernard Brun (cf. above, p. 51). Havelok's birth is at last made known to the world and so is that of Rainouart's, and to Argentille-Goldeboru of the Havelok-tale corresponds in Aliscans Aelis, King Louis's beautiful daughter, who becomes Rainouart's wife.²

The flame issuing from Havelok's mouth when he is at sleep, occurs in both the Anglo-Norman versions as well as in the English lay. It is hard to understand why Havelok should be ashamed of it. The author of the *Lai d'Havelok* has made it odorous — and in the English romance it is accompanied by a golden cross on Havelok's shoulder. Both the flame and the cross are signs of Havelok's royal birth. The flame, at least, is a very old feature in a royal person. WARD³ observed the parallel to it occurring in LIVY: »Puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. Plurimo igitur clamore ad tantæ rei miraculum orto, excitos reges; et cum quidam familiarum aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab regina retentum; sedatoque eam tumulti moveri vetuisse puerum, donec sua sponte experrectus esset. Mox cum somno et flammam abisse.»⁴ This flame appears as a real king-mark round the head of the sleeping boy, whereas in our tale it issues from the mouth of

¹ Jonckbloet, *Guill. d'Orange* I, p. 315 sq.

² On the occurrence of the Rainouart-character in Wolfram von Eschenbach's »Willehalm» cf. Gautier, *Epopées* IV, pp. 470 sqq., 474.

³ C. R. I, p. 428 sq.

⁴ Livy, *Lib. I*, chap. XXXIX.

the hero. It seems to us as if the reason of this change, which gives Havelok's flame a somewhat comic colouring, is not only to be ascribed to the general downward course of a myth. The flame round the head of Servius Tullius has probably, in the course of time, been mixed up with the fire which issued from the mouth of the old Germanic heroes. In *Ditrik of Bern* we have an instance of a hero who *breathes* fire. When he fights with Hagen or Hogue and is not able to beat him, the fire *issues from his mouth* and helps him to victory.¹ The Lai d'Havelok tries to give an explanation of the flame by stating that

«Si grant chalur auoit el corps.»²

This statement reminds one of the heat the renowned Irish hero *Cuchulinn* had in his body, a heat which is ascribed also to *Kei* in a Welsh tale.³ — But to return to the Roman legend, there is still another point of resemblance between this and the Havelok-tale: Servius Tullius marries the daughter of Tarquin, the king, just like Havelok was made to do, although it must be admitted that the correspondence is not close, for the reasons why Tarquin favours this marriage are directly opposite to those of Edelsi — Alsi — Godrich. — In Chapter 41 of the quoted book of Livy the flame is alluded to once more, by Tanaquil who exhorts Servius Tullius, by power of the celestial flame to revenge the murder of her husband and to seize the throne. With this may be compared the wish Argentille utters in the

¹ Cf. Grimm, *Heldensage*, pp. 205 sq., 286, 312, 321. — Swed. *Ditrik af Bern*. p. 260. chap. 337; Norw. *Saga þidriks af Bern*, p. 332, chap. 391.

² Gaimar I, p. 292, l. 77.

³ Cf. G. G. A. 1890, p. 517 sq. — Ahlström, *Lais-litt.*, p. 123.

Lai d'Havelok, ll. 972 sqq.,¹ viz. that Havelok shall return to England in order to revenge her on her uncle — and Goldeboru's prophecy, when she has seen the flame and heard of Havelok's dream, ll. 1316 sqq.²

In the French romance *Richars li Biaus*, which, according to GASTON PARIS belongs to the last third of the 13th century,³ we find another parallel to the flame and cross episodes of the Havelok-tale. The flame, which in the Havelok-tale is described minutely, is here alluded to only as a light in the boy's face:

»Lenfant regarde enmie la chiere

Qui resplendist si com lumiere».⁴

From this the lady, to whom Richard is brought, draws the conclusion that the child is of high birth:

»Je ne puis croire

»Que chilz ne soit de *haute estoire*,

Il est dignes de haute table,»⁵

and when she looks at its shoulder and finds the royal mark, here consisting of two shining crosses, she adds:

»Dieus — — chilz sera rois!»⁶

The same episode returns several times in the French epic, *Chanson le Lion de Bourges*, which in many respects

¹ Gaimar I, p. 316.

² Holthausen, Havelok, p. 42 sq.

³ Paris, Manuel, p. 106. — Gröber's Grundr., II: 1, p. 778 sq.

⁴ Foerster, Rich. l. Biaus, p. 19, ll. 663 sq.

⁵ Ibid., ll. 665 sq.

⁶ Ibid., l. 670.

that do not concern our investigation, is closely related with the »Richars li Biaus». ¹ The correspondence existing between our tale and the mentioned French epic is, however, not confined only to the cross episode. The wondrous horn which Havelok sounds and which in his hand becomes the deciding proof of his lawful right to the Danish kingdom, reappears also in the »Chanson de Lion de Bourges», and plays in this poem the same important part as in the Havelok-tale. The »Chanson de Lion de Bourges» is an anonymous poem, consisting in the oldest ms. (from the 14th century) of about 38000 12-syllable lines. ² There are several mss., some of which represent later imitations of the original »chanson de geste». None of the mss. are printed. ³ The French poem found its way to Germany already in the 15th century, ⁴ and appeared in a German translation or as a German imitation in 1514 under the title of: »*Herpin. Der weis Ritter wie er so getruwlich beistund ritter Leuwen, des Hertzogen sun von Burges, das er zu letst ein Künigreich besass.*» Grüninger. Strassburg 1514. ⁵ The historical basis of the poem dates back to the end of the 11th century. ⁶ But the historical duke. Harpin or Herpin de

¹ Cf. Wilhelmi, Lion de Bourges.

² Cf. Wilhelmi, Lion de Bourges, p. 13.

³ Cf. P. Paris, Mscr, III, p. 1 sqq. — Grässe, Sagenkreise, p. 379 sqq. — Foerster, Rich. li Biaus, p. XXVI sqq. — Ebert's Jahrb. IV, p. 53 sq. (Analyses in the works noted and in Wilhelmi, l. c., p. 17 sqq.).

⁴ Cf. Wilhelmi, Lion de Bourges, p. 15, where the mss. are noted.

⁵ Cf. J. Ch. Brunet, Manuel du Libraire etc. III, Paris 1862. Col. 136; VI, Tableau Méthodique. No. 17681. — Hagen, ¹ Gesamtantabenteuer I, p. XCVII sqq.

⁶ Cf. Reiffenberg, Le chev. au Cygne II, pp. 55; 87, l. 5469 note; 255. l. 10164 note; III (Borgnet), p. 538. — Suchier, Beaumanoir I, p. LXXXI.

Bourges, has very little to do with the father of our hero. Harpin's son is in the poem called *Lion*, or *Lew* as in the German translation we are following. He plays the chief part in the story, and is the hero of the most wondrous adventures. This is not the place to follow him in detail. But a few remarks will serve our purpose. SUCHIER is of the opinion that the tale of »*Lion de Bourges*» is a »*rejeton de l'histoire de Havelok le Danois*». ¹ WILHELMI thinks this expression too strong. He sets forth briefly the few instances in which the two tales correspond, but draws the conclusion that we are by no means justified in considering the »*Lion de Bourges*» as a »*rejeton*» of the *Havelok-tale*, for there are other tales which have been of much greater importance to the formation of the legend of the »*Chanson de Lion de Bourges*» than the *Havelok-tale*. It must however be observed that, although some of the features of the *Havelok-tale* as well as of the »*Lion de Bourges*» occur in other romances, there is no hero, with exception of *Havelok* and *Lion de Bourges*, who is distinguished by the cross *and* the ability to sound the horn. But even this coincidence does not allow the conclusion that the author of the French »*chanson*» has copied *both* episodes from the *Havelok-tale*. For it is a fact that there is no version known of the *Havelok-tale*, in which both the cross and the horn episodes occur. There are, as we have remarked above, several points of correspondence between the »*Richars li Biaus*» and the »*Chanson de Lion de Bourges*» — and the only certain conclusion is consequently, that the author of the »*Chanson de Lion de Bourges*» does not owe the insertion in his poem of *both* episodes to the *Havelok-tale* alone.

¹ Suchier, *Beamanoir* I, p. LXXXI. — Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 120.

As the French mss. of the »Lion de Bourges« are still unpublished, and the German printed editions are not easily accessible, it will perhaps not be out of place to reproduce the passages in which the two tales correspond the closest.

The duke Herpin de Burges, one of the knights of Charlemagne, is exiled with his wife on account of the perfidity of one of the other knights. He expects a son by his wife, and as he intends sending him home to his own country, he begs his friends to take care of him when he comes. On their reply that they will not be able to recognize him, Herpin answers: »Ich wil euch sagen wie ir in sollent erkennen / es ist ein horn zu Burges in meinem gewelbten sal / da ist kein mensch lebende uff erdtreich der das horne geblasen mag / er sei den ein rechter erbe zu Burges in Berri. Also erkennen ir in / sag ich fürwar / kompt yemants der das horen blaset so mögent ir fürwar sagen das er mein sun sei.«¹

The expected child is born in a wood, and the cross is at once seen on its shoulder: »Uff des kindes rechte achseln daz ist war / stund ein rot crütz das ersahe die fraw.«²

The child is left alone in the wood, is taken care of by a lion, and at last found by a knight who takes it home with him. He sees the cross and says: »So mir Sant Martin ich sihe ein grosz wunder — — ich sih des bedüten ein rot crütz / so mir der got der wein vsz wasser macht — — das kind is kumen von hohem geschlecht es ist eins künig oder eins hertzen / oder sust eins fürsten kind.«³

¹ Gruninger, p. V, d. sq.

² Ibid., p. VII, b.

³ In the meantime Lew's mother has been carried away by pirates, and in Tollet (Toledo), to where she is brought, she, in the disguise of a man, becomes scullion to the king's cook. Ibid., p. IX c.

Lew grows up a fine youth, goes out on adventures, meets with a knight to whom he talks of the »rot crütz« on his shoulder; this knight, Gerna, is going about looking for his former master, Herpin; Lew asks him if he knows anything about the duke's family and gets the answer that the duke is »Ottgers vetter von Denmark«.¹ Gerna talks of the horn and says: »Künent ir meinen herren nimer me wider finden / so wil ich uch sagen wie man euch erkennen sol / Das man euch für einen herren haltet — -- zu Burges uff dem palast da ist ein horn von solichem gefert daz niman kan geblasen. Er sei den ein rechter erbe zu Burges des landes das horn ist helffen beinen und von solichem wunder geschickt dar-kumen / als ichs hon horen sagen von wunschfrawen — —.«² To this Lew answers: »ist es gotz wille / so wil ich es blasen.«³ Lew now has scores of adventures which do not in the least correspond with the Havelok-tale. The motive of the cross reappears several times. It is also applied to one of Lew's sons. — A shepherd finds the child under a tree, takes it home to his wife and tells her to take care of it. She does as she is told: »da sah sie das ein rot crütz uff der achseln stünt das nam sie grosz wunder und sprach / sih hie ein rot crütz uff des kinds achsel / das kind wird noch ein grosser künig oder ist aber von küniges geschlecht kumen.«⁴ Cf. p. CXLIV.

At last Lew finds his father and mother, who both speak of the wonderful horn; Lew is also told that, if he returns to Burges, he is to look up a man called Herman. He has

¹ Gröninger, p. XXXIV c.

² Ibid., p. XXXIV d.

³ Ibid., p. XXXV a.

⁴ Ibid., p. XCV c.

several adventures before he finds him; at last he is led to his house.¹ Herman thinks he looks like Herpin, but, as the text says, »da wüsst er nicht was er gedenken sol».² Lew is brought to the room in the palace where the horn is kept — and »Lew that gar ein köstlich opffer und bat got um sein gnad ob er hertzog Herpins sun wer daz er dan daz mocht blasen / daz es jederman hört».³ He gets the horn »und bliess einen solchen thon / daz in der stat nirgent kein gas on man hort daz horn eigentlich darin».⁴ Lew is now made duke of the country. — After this several other episodes follow, but they are of no importance to us.

To these extracts may be added some few lines from the French original, ms. Bibl. Nat. 22555:

»Mais pues reuint lour filz en teil pocession
Qu'il rout son yretaige el sa grant mancion,
Car il sonnait le cor qui pais n'est de laiton,
Que sonner ne poroit nulz hons, bien le set on.»⁵

The correspondence with the Havelok-tale is evident.

The horn sounded by Havelok and Lion de Bourges is quite unlike the numerous other horns occurring in mediæval tales and which are sounded for different purposes. AHLSTRÖM⁶ refers to the horn of »Erec et Enide» by Chrestien de Troyes as a parallel⁷ to the horn of the Havelok-tale. But the resem-

¹ Grüninger, p. CXXI c.

² Ibid., p. CXXI d.

³ Ibid., p. CXXII c.

⁴ Ibid., p. CXXII c.

⁵ Cf. Foerster, Rich. li Biaus, p. XXVII sq.

⁶ Lais-Litt., p. 123.

⁷ Foerster, Erec und Enide, p. 158 sq., ll. 614 sqq. — Cf. Romania XX, p. 153 sq.

blance between the horn episodes of the two tales is by no means a very close one. The horn Havelok blows is a touchstone by which he proves his royal birth — with the horn sounded by Erec the matter is quite different. The sounding of this horn is not meant *to prove* anything at all: a knight is set at liberty if anybody can blow it. — In the *Lai du Cor* the horn is used to test something altogether different, but the idea of using a horn *as a test* is the same as in the Havelok-tale.

The dream which Argentille has in the Anglo-Norman versions has been developed into an allegory, whereas in the corresponding passages of the English lay Goldeboru, being wide awake, has a vision and hears the voice of an angel (ll. 1264 sqq.)¹ prophesying Havelok's future promotion. In this version Havelok dreams that he is sitting on a high hill in Denmark, and sees all the world. His arms and legs grow so long that he embraces the whole country, and all of it becomes his when he wants to withdraw his arms and legs (ll. 1285 sqq.).² A parallel to this idea occurs in the French version of William of Palerne, written late in the 12th or in the beginning of 13th century.³ The queen, Félise, dreams that she stands on a tower, when all at once her arms begin to grow, so that with the one hand she reaches Rome and extends the other over Spain.⁴ Also the interpretation of this dream corresponds with that given by Goldeboru.⁵ -- The allegory in the Anglo-

¹ Holthausen, Havelok, p. 40 sq.

² Holthausen, Havelok, p. 41 sq. — Cf. above, p. 49.

³ Gröber's Grundr. II: 1, p. 529 sq.

⁴ Michelant, Guill. de Palerne, ll. 4761 sqq.

⁵ The passage occurs also in the English version of this tale:

Norman versions is very odd. As mentioned above (p. 25 sqq.) not only several animals are concerned in it: lions, foxes, bears, dogs and boars, but also trees and the sea. We have found a rather close parallel to this allegorical dream in the French »chanson de geste», *Aiol*, preserved in a late version from the first third of the 13th century.¹ In both tales the hero walks in a wood. Wild beasts approach him, but only in order to fall down before him and pay him homage etc., and the trees of the wood bow to him. The interpretation given to Argentille by the hermite in the *Lai d'Haveloc* resembles the one which Moyses, the »clers sachans», gives to Elie. The chief points are, that the subservient beasts stand for the two heroes' enemies, who will all be conquered, and that the bowing woods mean that the heroes will be mighty kings.² In both tales the dreams come true.

Will. of Palerne, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S., E. S. No. 1, London 1867, p. 96, ll. 2904 sqq. — Cf. M. Kaluza in *Engl. stud.* IV, p. 197 sq.

¹ Cf. *Hist. Litteraire* XXII, p. 274 sqq. (*Analysis*). — Gröber's *Grundr.* II: 1, p. 568 sq. — *Aiol N. R.*, p. XXVIII.

² Cf. *Aiol N. R.*, p. 11 sq., ll. 359 sqq.

I. The Minor versions.

The Minor versions of the Havelok-tale are comparatively late prose abstracts of the more complete versions, mentioned under I, p. 15. They do not generally contain more than the outline of the story, most of the inserted episodes being excluded. The additional matter is of little or no importance. New light is consequently not thrown on the tale by these versions, but they are a further proof of the great popularity of the Havelok-tale.

The names mentioned in these versions are those known to us from the Anglo-Norman versions and the English Lay. Some few new ones have been added, but they are of no consequence. Sometimes names derived both from the French versions and the English lay occur in the same text.

To this category we reckon the following:

I. *The Brut d'Angleterre* or *The Petit Brut*.¹

This chronicle is continued down to 1307, and extant only in one, a late copy from the beginning of the 17th cen-

¹ Since the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose *Historia Regum Britanniae* is entitled *Brutus* in several mss., a number of French and

tury. Ms. Harley 902.¹ In 1310 it was — according to the prologue² — abridged from the *Great Brut* (= Monmouth)³ at the request of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, by *Meistre Roüf de Boüin(e)*.⁴

The passages referring to the Havelok-tale were printed by MADDEN in his »Introduction» to »Havelok», p. XXIX sqq.; by MICHEL in his translation of part of Madden's »Introduction», p. XIX sqq., and by SKEAT in his »Preface» to the E. E. T. S. edition of »Havelok», p. VI sq.⁵

English chronicles in verse and prose, treating of the apocryphic history of the Britons and based either directly on Monmouth or on some of his numerous imitators, bear the title *Brut*. P. Meyer, Bulletin 1878, p. 104 sqq. has made some of the prose chronicles named »Brut» the subject of an investigation. — He distinguishes between three chronicles. I. »Le Brut d'Angleterre abrégé» (p. 106 sqq.). II: 1. »Le livre des reis de Britannie et le livre des reis de Engleterre», ed. Glover, London 1867, Chron. and Memor. 42 (p. 108 sqq.). Cf. Vising, Franska språket II, p. 24, note 7. 2. *Brut d'Angleterre de Raouf de Boüin* (p. 111 sqq.). This chronicle is about 25 years later than the preceding, and is, although not copied from the same original, closely related with it. III. See below, p. 112. — Cf. Romania VIII, p. 466; XVI, p. 154. — E. Stengel in D. Litt. Zeit. 1886, No. 28, col. 994. — Gröber's Grundr. II: 1, p. 1013.

¹ P. Meyer, Bulletin 1878, p. 112.

² Printed by Meyer, l. c.; in part by Madden, p. XIX sq.; Michel, Havelok, p. XVIII sq., and in Hist. Littéraire XXVII, p. 406.

³ P. Meyer, Bulletin, p. 112.

⁴ Cf. De la Rue, Essais II, p. 165. — Grässe, Sagenkreise, p. 105 calls him Raoul de Bohon. These two authors consider the chronicle in question to be an abridgement of Wace's »Brut». Cf. Gröber's Grundr. II: 1, p. 635. — Warton, H. E. P. II, p. 76. — Hist. Littéraire XXVII, p. 406. — T. Brink, Gesch., p. 376. — Skeat, E. E. T. S., p. VI, sqq.; Cl. Pr., p. L (a). — C. R. I, p. 443.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 3, note 1.

This »Brut» begins in the usual way, *i. e.* with the year 2000 B. C. In the time of Julius Cæsar a Danish prince, Gurmond, came from Denmark, and laid claims to the English throne, because he was the grandson of Belin whose eldest daughter was married to Thorand, king of Denmark. He reigned for 57 years, and his son Frederick for 71. The latter made himself hated by the Britons and was, consequently, expelled. The inimical feelings between the two races continued for more than 700 years, when *Havelok*, the son of king *Birkenbayne*¹ of Denmark, came to England, and, by means of his marriage, became king of the country. »After a lot of equally credible stories» the author continues with Aethelstan, his brother, Edmund, and, instead of Edred, who succeeded him in 946 (cf. above, p. 76), he inserts *Adelwold*, who is made son of Edmund. Now follows (fol. 6 verso) a brief outline of the story itself, written in an abominable French, and closely following the English lay. The author quotes »le storie de Grimesby», and the confusion of his account proves clearly that he has abridged a larger original. The names are all those of the lay: we have already mentioned Birkabeyn and Athelwold, and may add *Goldeburgh*, *Goudriche* and *Grim*. Havelok is said to be the first joint king of England and Denmark, and Grimsby to have received its name from Grim. Grim's saving Havelok is shortly alluded to, but the whole repetition of the treachery episode with Godard in Denmark is omitted. — The author alludes to the brief statements in the English lay concerning Havelok's sons: ll. 2972 sqq. (cf. above, p. 56), and offers some other information about them from sources which are unknown to us. He had nine sons and

¹ Hist. Littéraire XXVII, p. 407 reads Birkenbague.

seven daughters, all of whom died before coming of age, except four of the sons. The eldest, *Gurmond*, was to inherit England; the next, *Knout*, was to be made king of Denmark, but when his brother broke his neck in a fall from his horse, he laid claims to the English crown. The third son, *Godard*, had the »Seneschacie» of England given to him, and the fourth, *Thorand*, married a princess »de Hertowe in Norway», and inherited her country. The Danes and the inhabitants of Thorand's land resisted all who laid claims to their country, until Guy of Warwick came and defied them. — Havelok was buried in the priory of »Grescherche» in London. — The last section allows the conclusion that other popular traditions, current in the once Danish provinces, were incorporated with the Havelok-tale. One of these traditions is the tale of Guy of Warwick.¹

II. *The Brute* or the so-called *Caxton's Chronicle*.²

This is an anonymous compilation, chiefly based on Geoffrey of Monmouth. From the numerous mss. in French and English it is evident that it enjoyed a great popularity. It was originally written in the French language,³ but was translated

¹ Cf. above, p. 89 sq.

² P. Meyer, Bulletin 1878, pp. 104, 113 sqq. classifies this chronicle as No. III (cf. above, p. 109 sq., note 1), and entitles it: »Le Brut allégué par l'auteur du Débats des hérauts d'armes de France et D'Angleterre» (cf. the edition of L. Pannier and P. Meyer, which contains the »Débat» etc. and the »Debate between the heralds of England and France» by John Coke. Société des ancien textes français, Paris 1877, pp. XIX, XXXIII, 11, 17, 50, 56, 110). — In his »Introduction», p. XXV sqq., Madden mentions several mss. containing this chronicle. Meyer completes the list and classifies the mss., cf. esp. p. 129(7). A great number of extracts reprinted from some of these mss. are also found in his treatise. — Descript. Catal. III, p. 311, No. 551.

³ Cf. Warton, H. E. P. II, p. 76, note 1.

into English in the 15th century.¹ These translations (for there are several) form the basis of the »Chronicles of England«, from which Caxton printed his book in 1480,² erroneously called »*Caxton's Chronicle*«. Caxton was neither the author nor the translator of it;³ perhaps he added some of the last chapters.⁴ MADDEN (and after him SKEAT) state expressly that the Havelok-tale is extant in the following mss.:⁵ *French*: Royal 20, A. III; Cotton Dom. A. X (14th century); Harley 200 (15th century);⁶ *English*: Harley 24;⁷ 753; 2279; ~ 4960 (15th century).

The French version of the Havelok-tale, as preserved in the »Brute« was printed by MADDEN, p. XXIX (reprints by MICHEL, p. XXXI sqq. and SKEAT, E. E. T. S., p. XIV sq.⁸) from Ms. Royal 20, A. III, fol. 165 verso, chapters 99, 100; the English translation in the same places from Ms. Harley 2279, fol. 47, chapters 91, 92.

The Havelok-tale of the »Brute« is chiefly based on Gaimar. In the French version the two kings in England are

¹ Cf. the preceding note. — P. Meyer, Bulletin 1878, p. 104.

² For later editions cf. Grässe, Sagenkreise, p. 110. — William Blades, The Biography and Typography of William Caxton, London, Strassburg 1877. — P. Meyer, Bulletin 1878, p. 130.

³ Cf. P. Meyer, *ibid.*

⁴ Cf. Skeat, E. E. T. S., p. XIII.

⁵ Cf. Skeat, Cl. Pr., p. 61 (*d.*).

⁶ Warton, H. E. P. II, p. 76, note 1, asserts that the first English translation was made from this ms.

⁷ Madden, p. XXVI, reprints a preface, extant in this ms. and in ms. Digby 185. Michel, Havelok, p. XXVI sq.

⁸ Madden, p. XXVII sq., proves that, in 1435, Sir John Mandevyle translated the version of the »Brute« extant in this ms.

⁹ Cf. above, p. 3, note 1.

named A(l)delbriht and Edelfi, in the English translation Albright and Edelf. Cuaran is introduced as Curan. The story is divided into two chapters (cf. above). The first chapter treats of the two kings in England who reigned after the death of king Constantine. (Thes II. Kynges», says the Harleian ms., »werred faste togeders, but afterwards thei were acorded and louede togedere as thei had ben borne of o bodie». After this passage, which does not occur in Gaimar, the arrangement about Argentille's marriage is made. Adelbriht dies, and the chapter ends by stating that Argentille »become the fayrest creature that myȝt lif, or eny man finde».

The second chapter contains Edelf's treachery and the marriage. The English translator has misunderstood his original, for when the French text states that »cest Curan fust [le Roi]¹ Hauelok filz le Roi Kirkebain² de Denemarche», the English translation says: »*this Curan that was Hauelok's son that was kyng of Kirkelane in Denmark*». Curan conquers Edulf and gets all Argentille's land »as in another stede hit telleth more openly». He did not, however, reign for more than three years, »*for Saxones and Danows him queld*». That was a great pity for all Briton. He was solemnly buried at Stonehenge.

The most remarkable difference between this version and *all* the others is the absence of the name of *Grim* and the episodes connected with him. Besides that the variations between the version of the *Brute* and that of Gaimar lie chiefly in the total exclusion from the former of the events of the tale which pass in Denmark. The author must have known some-

¹ Supplied fr. Ms. Cotton Dom. A. X.

² Ms. Cotton Dom. A. X. Birkebein; Ms. Harley 260 Birkelun.

thing of the later Lincolnshire traditions, because he makes Havelok the son of Birkabeyn instead of introducing Gunter as his father, although he, as we have seen, altogether misinterprets the name, already corrupted in one of the French mss. His knowledge of these traditions is proved also by the fact that the name Goldeboru is substituted for Argentille in some of the French as well as in some of the English copies.¹ The above mentioned reference to a fuller account of the story seems, however, to point to Gaimar's version. — On the origin of the passage, stating that Havelok is killed by the Saxons and the Danes, we are unable to offer any certain explanation.²

III. *The Scala Chronica.*³

This chronicle, like the preceding ones, is written in prose. It was written in French in the middle of the 14th century by *Thomas Gray of Heton, in Northumberland*. He died probably about 1396. The author says of himself that, in 1355, he began »à treter et à translater en plus court sentence les chronicles del Grant Bretaigne et les gestes des Englessezs». ⁴

The »Scala Chronica» or »Scale Chronicon» is extant in the unique ms. 133 of the Parker collection of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.⁵ The chronicle is divided into five sec-

¹ Cf. Madden, p. XXIX. — Skeat, E. E. T. S., p. XIV.

² This is perhaps some reminiscence from the Guy of Warwick-tale, in which the Danish king who lays claims to the English crown is expelled.

³ The name »Scala» is derived from the crest of the Grays, in which there was a scaling ladder.

⁴ Dict. Nat. Biogr. XXXIII, p. 21 b.

⁵ Cf. Madden, p. XXXIV. — Skeat, E. E. T. S., p. XVI; Cl. Pr., p. LI (f): the number of this ms. is given as No. 132, whereas Ward in C. R. I, p. 444, note, refers to it as 133.

tions, and the passages containing the Havelok-tale are inserted among the events of the time of »Constantin, king of the Britons». The section relating to the time after the Norman conquest was printed by John Stevenson for the Maitland Club in 1836. The first part still remains unpublished in the original language. *Leland*, the English historian who died in 1552, translated some of the passages of the »Scala Chronica when it was in a more perfect state than now»,¹ and among these is a short abstract of the Havelok-tale.² *MADDEN*, p. XXXIV, suggests that Gray owed his knowledge of the tale to the »Brute». There are certainly, as *MEYER* remarks, several copies of the »Brute» which have escaped him,³ and such a one the original of Gray's must have been. For all the mss. mentioned by Meyer are in prose, and *Leland* asserts that Gray's original was rimed.⁴

As this extract is to be found, except in the »Collectanea», only in the rare Roxburghe volume, we print it at length:

»Sum say that in Constantine king of Britons tyme that Ethelbright and Edelsi were smaul Kinges under hym, where of the first was King of Norfole and Southfold,⁵ and the other of Lindesay.⁶ And these 2. Kinglettes

¹ Dict. Nat. Biogr. XXXIII, p. 22 a.

² *Leland*, *Collectanea* I: 2, p. 511.

³ *Bulletin* 1878, p. 105.

⁴ *Leland*, *Collectanea* I: 2, p. 509. The head-lines which precede the extracts from Gray run as follows: »Notable Thinges translatid in to English by John Leylande out of a Booke, caullid Scala Chronica, the which a certein Inglish Man (taken yn Werre Prisoner, and brought to Edingeburgh yn Scotland) did translate owte of Frenche *ryme* yn to Frenche Prose.»

⁵ Sic.

⁶ An e is printed above the a.

encredid, and Ethelbright toke to Wife Orwene, the Syster of Edelsy, of whom he got a Doughter caullid Argentele in Brutisch, and Goldesburg in Saxon. And this Goldeburge was after left with her Uncle Edelsy on this Condition, that he that yn Feates of Chevalry might be found most noble, that he shoulde have his Doughter. And she was after married to one Havelok, that was sun to a King of Denmark, but conveyid by flaite in to England, and after, the Treuth knowen, was restorid in Denmark as trew Heire.

One Cuaran, Sun to Grime, a strong and mightty yong Fellow, cam to Edelsy's Court in to Lindesey, and ther was first a Turner of Broches yn the Kechyn, and after by valiant Deades rose to greate Name.¹

Gryme had Haveloc (by Commaundement of the King of Denmark Stuard) to be drounid: but having Pite on hym, he conveyid hym yn to Lindesey in England to a Place, syns caullid of his Name Grymesby.² But this Historie ys countid of sum but as an Acocriphe.³ And sum say, that Sweyn of Denmark (Father to King Knut) first attemptid Lindesey by the first cumming thither and Mariage of Havelok.»

Gray has certainly compiled his abstract from various authorities, viz. such as drew their knowledge of the Havelok-tale from the Anglo-Norman versions, and such as contained the traditions upon which the English lay is based. The in-

¹ In the margin: »Cuaran Sun to Gryme, a poor Fisschar, not able to kepe him for Poverty.»

² In the margin: Grimesby unde.

³ Sic.

troductiō reminds one more of Gaimar, who also made the two kings in England reign »quant Costentin estait chevetaigne» (cf. above, p. 78), than of the »Brute» which begins »After Kyng Constantinus deth . . . »¹ — The name of Goldeboru is introduced as the Saxon word for the »Brutisch» Argenteille: this explanation of Gray's seems quite natural, for he found the two names used for the same person in different versions of the same tale, of which some certainly formed part of a chronicle entitled »Brute».² — The passage relative to Grim and Havelok reminds one decidedly of the English lay: this version is, as we know, the only one in which Grim is ordered by the treacherous earl to drown Havelok. — Gray did, however, not succeed quite in harmonizing the statements of his authorities, for he introduces Cuaran as Grim's son (cf. the English version of the »Brute»!) and as a different person from Havelok. — His last assertion referring to Sven Tveskæg is an echo of the tradition according to which Havelok was made one of the first Danish kings who came to England.

IV. *The Eulogium Historiarum.*³

The version of the Havelok-tale referred to under this title is printed in the edition of the chronicle, and by SKEAT, E. E. T. S., p. XVII.⁴ The chronicle, which begins with the Creation and is, apart from continuations, brought down to 1366, was written in Latin in the latter part of the 14th century by a monk, probably named *Thomas* and belonging to the Abbey

¹ Cf. Skeat, E. E. T. S., p. XIV.

² Cf. C. R. I., p. 444.

³ Eulog. Hist. II, p. 378 sq. For mss. etc. cf. the »Prefaces», of Vols. I, II.

⁴ Cf. Skeat, Cl. Pr., p. LI (*g*). — Madden did not know this version.

of Malmesbury.¹ The chief authority employed in the »*Liber quintus*» (II. p. 202 sq.) is the »*Historia Regum Britanniae*» by Geoffrey of Monmouth; but additional information is drawn from the »*Brut*» extant in French prose in the mss. mentioned above (p. 05) and in others.² The Havelok-tale is inserted in Ch. LXXIV between the death of Cadwallo and the accession of Cadwallader.

Havelok is said to have come to England in the time of Edelfridus, because a treacherous duke in Denmark, to whom he had been entrusted, wanted to kill him in order to keep the kingdom for himself. Havelok fled to Grim, who is introduced as an English merchant, and who took him to England. Havelok lived for some time in Grimsby, but went, later on, to the court of king Edelfridus, and lived in his kitchen. — Now follows a brief account of the marriage of Orwen and Athelbertus. This marriage led to very friendly relations between the two kings who up to this time had always warred with one another. On the death of Athelbertus Argentille is entrusted to the care of her uncle, her father having asked him »*ut filiam suam homini fortissimo ac validiori totius sui regni in conjugium copularet*». But Adelfridus married her to Havelok »*ob cupiditatem regnæ puellæ*». — In spite of former hardships and by the help of God all ended well for Havelok and Argentille. Havelok was, a few years after, made king of Britain. — The Saxons killed him, however; and he lies at Stonehenge. This account ends thus: »*Pater ejus Kirkeban vocabatur. De Hauelok satis dictum est: ad pristinam Britonum materiam licet redire*».

¹ Eulog. Hist. I, pp. IV, XXVI sqq.; esp. XLIII sq.

² Eulog. Hist. II, p. LXX sqq.

It is evident that the author of this account drew his knowledge of the Havelok-tale not only from the »Brute», but also from other sources. The strongest proof is the introduction of Grim in the tale, who, as we know, did not occur in either the French or the English versions of the »Brute». The allusion to the Danish duke who wanted to kill Havelok points to the traditions of the English lay. There are, on the other hand, several points in which the »Eulogium» corresponds with the »Brute». The war between the two kings in England, the statement that Havelok is killed by the Saxons and the mention of Stonehenge are details found in the »Brute». The name Cuaran is not introduced, and the original Birkabeyn is further corrupted into Kirkeban. Except this, all the names are those of the »Brute», and the order of events corresponds with that of this version.

V. *The Chronicon Henrici Knighton.*¹

The version of the Havelok-tale which *Henry Knighton* (or Cnitthou) inserted in his chronicle is printed only in the edition referred to. This chronicle, which is continued to 1395, is chiefly compiled from the 7th book of Higden's »Polychronicon» and from the »Chronicle» of Walter of Hemingburgh.² A remarkable exception to this rule is made by the tales of Havelok and Guy of Warwick, which are inserted in the 5th chapter of Book I. The Havelok-tale of this chronicle is an almost *literal translation* from the »Brut d'Angleterre» by Raouf de Boün. Athelwold is called *Egelwoldus*, and there are some few other small variations. Birkabeyn is corrupted

¹ Chron. Knight. I. p. 18 sq. For mss. etc. cf. the »Introduction» to vol. II.

² Cf. Chron. Knighton. II. p. XXVI sqq.

into *Birkelannus*, Thorand altered to Thoraldus, and the details do not follow in quite the same order as in Knighton's original. Havelok reigns 31 years in stead of 41 as in the «Brut d'Angleterre». The number of Havelok's children is 15 instead of 16, and he is buried in St. Paul's instead of in «Grescherche», as in the «Brute d'Angleterre». — The author was not ignorant of the existance of other versions of the tale, for in the margin, and as a note or an explanation of the name Goldusbourgh, he wrote Argentille.¹

The section of this chronicle which refers to Havelok begins thus: »Inter cetera videamus quam ob causam et qua ratione Canutus venit in Angliam et misit clamium in regno Angliæ». Then follows the Havelok-tale, and it is, like that of Knighton's original, closely connected with the tale of Guy of Warwick, which follows it directly (cf. above, p. 112). Knighton gives a very detailed account of this tale, and finishes it by stating that, after the death of Colebrand, England was free from the Danes till the time of Cnut. Then he once more *returns to Havelok* in the following words: »Rex vero Havelok mortuus jacet Londoniæ apud Sanctum Paulum, et dotavit filios suos sicut dictum est, post ejus mortem venit Canutus filius ejus de Dacia et regnavit cum honore² This sentence seems to stand as an explanation of the introductory lines, and it is evident that in Knighton's opinion Havelok was the father of King Cnut. Though not exactly the same as the tradition handed down by Thomas Gray in the «Scala Chromea» this idea bears a certain likeness to it. According to this tradition the claims laid by the Danish kings to the English crown

¹ Chron. Knight. II, p. 18, note 6.

² Chron. Knight. II, p. 27.

were justified since the time of Havelok and his accession to the kingdom (cf. above, p. 118).

VI. MADDEN and SKEAT mention several other mss. in which the Havelok-tale is preserved. — As we have had no opportunity of reading these mss. (they are, as far as we know, not yet printed) we are obliged to confine ourselves to a list of names and to the information given in the editions.

1. Ms. *Harley 63*.¹

This ms. contains »Caxton's Chronicle» in an abbreviated form. The name of Goldesburghe is substituted for that of Argentille. Madden prints the following extract, fol. 15 verso: »for when Goldesburghe come the age of XIII yere he married here to a scoloyne of his kechyn that was called Hauelok and kept the lande to himselffe. — *Of kyng Hauelok*. And so it appenyd that Haueloke by rihte of his wiffe was ryghte heir to the kyng of Denmarke and went to Denmarge, and there was made kyng, and after he come agayn w^t moche people, and slewe Edelf and was made kyng of this lande and regnyd III yere and liehte at Stonehynges.²

2. Ms. *Cotton Dom. A. II* »contains the Havelok-tale in an earlier form».³

3. Mss. *Harley 655*; *Cotton jul. E. 8*; *Royal 13. E. 1.*:⁴ »interpolated copies of Higden's 'Polychronicon'».

¹ Madden, p. XXXIII. — Cf. Skeat, E. E. T. S., p. XVI; Cl. Pr., p. LI (*d*).

² The chronicler must have misunderstood his original, for he makes Havelok the heir of the king of Denmark *by right of his wife*.

³ Cf. Skeat, E. E. T. S., p. XVI; Cl. Pr., p. LI (*e*). — Descript. Catal. III, pp. 241, 293.

⁴ Cf. Skeat, E. E. T. S., p. XVI; Cl. Pr., p. LI (*e*).

2. Brief References. Local Traditions.

Poems.

Since we have, in the preceding chapters, treated of the more or less complete *versions* of the Havelok-tale that have been preserved, we now come to a number of brief references to the tale and its hero in mediæval chronicles and later writers. — In connection with these fragmentary allusions we think it advisable to consider some local traditions which continued for a long time to be current in Great Grimsby. These traditions are of interest inasmuch as they contain some details of the sayings about the foundation of Grimsby and about Grim, which are not found in the versions of the Havelok-tale itself. Grim is, according to some of those traditions, already in England, when he saves Havelok. He becomes a mighty merchant and pirate, and is by the British king made the privileged governor of the town he founded.

A. I. »*La Lignée des Bretons et des Engleis queus ils furent et de queus noms.*»¹

This is the beginning of the title of a brief genealogy of the Briton, Saxon and Anglo-Norman kings, extending from Brutus down to the accession of Edward II in 1307, and containing scarcely anything but bare names and dates. It is pre-

¹ Descript. Catal. III, pp. 300, 306.

served on fols. 148—149 of ms. *Arundel XIV*, *Heralds' College*, the same ms. which contains a copy of the *Lai d'Haveloc*.¹ The full title of this genealogy and extracts from it have been printed by MADDEN, p. XXIV: MICHEL, *Havelok*, p. XXIV; SKEAT, *E. E. T. S.*, p. VIII sq.; and by MARTIN in *Gaimar I*, p. XXII sq. The list was, according to MADDEN, composed early in the 14th century.

After the Saxon kings Edbright, perhaps the same as Ecgbryht 800—837,² and Edelwin, who cannot be identified, we have the following statements:

»*Athelwold* auoit une fille

Goldeburgh, et il regna VI anz.

Haueloc esposa meisme cele *Goldeburgh* et regna III anz.

Alfred le frere le roi *Athelwold* enchaca *Haueloc* par *Hunebere* et il fu le primer roi corone par l'Apostoille et il regna XXX anz.

Edward son filz regna XXIII anz.» etc.

It is evident that there is some confusion of names here.

The *Alfred* mentioned by the genealogist is, no doubt, the historical King Aelfred. The author states that he was crowned by «l'Apostoille», and King Aelfred was, according to the Chronicle, sent to Rome by his father in 853—4 and crowned by Pope Leo.³ The brief reference to Edward, the son of King Aelfred, corresponds also with the Chronicle.⁴ *Athelwold* would then stand for Aelfred's brother, Aethelbald,

¹ Cf. below, chap. VI.

² *A. S. Chr. I*, p. 101 sqq.

³ *A. S. Chr. I*, p. 122 sqq.

⁴ *A. S. Chr. I*, p. 178 sq. — The number of years those two kings reigned corresponds with the time given them in the Chronicle.

who was king of Wessex in 855—860.¹ So far there is at least a possibility of identification. Havelok can, however, not be identified in this connection. The idea of inserting Havelok's name among the Saxon kings was certainly suggested to the genealogist by some knowledge he had of the tradition according to which Havelok was made the son of Guthrum, the Danish king who was one of King Aelfred's adversaries.²

2. *Pierre de Langtoft's Chronicle.*

This chronicle is continued down to 1307, and the author must have lived during part of the reign of Edward II.³

Cf. above, p. 82.

3. *Robert Manning of Brunne's Translation of Pierre de Langtoft's Chronicle.*

The date of this chronicle, called the *Story of England*, is 1338.⁴

Some few lines after the line referred to *above, p. 83*, Robert of Brunne returns to Havelok, and inserts a passage relative to the Havelok-traditions, which is not found in Langtoft. This passage was printed by HEARNE, *Langtoft Brunne I*, p. 25 sq.;⁵ MADDEN, p. XVI; MICHEL, *Havelok*, p. XV; SKELTON, *E. E. T. S.*, p. X; *Cl. Pr.*, p. XLIV.⁶

¹ *A. S. Chr. I*, p. 127 sq.

² *Cf. above, p. 82 sqq.*

³ *Cf. Langtoft I*, p. XII sq. — Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 170. — For mss. etc. cf. the *Prefaces* in *Langtoft I*, II. — *Descript. Catal. III*, p. 298, No. 531.

⁴ *Cf. Furnivall, Rob. of Brunne I*, p. XII. — T. Brink, *Gesch. I*, p. 376. — For mss. etc. cf. the *Introductions* in *Furnivall, Rob. of Brunne I*, II. — *Descript. Catal. III*, p. 304 sq. — Körting, p. 124.

⁵ *Cf. Hearne, Langtoft-Brunne I*, p. LXVII.

⁶ *Cf. above, p. 1.*

The author states that he has not been able to find any references to Havelok, Athelwold, Goldeburgh or Gryme in his authorities. Gildas, Bede, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury and Langtoft, and for this reason he doubts the authenticity of the story. He alludes to a local tradition in Lincoln relative to the passage in the English lay, in which we are told of the sports at Lincoln and of the strength Havelok displayed in putting the stone far beyond all his competitors, ll. 1045 sqq.: cf. above p. 46; below p. 132 sq. He alludes also to Havelok's and Goldeboru's marriage and to the chapel in which the wedding took place (this chapel is not especially mentioned in the English romance): after this he mentions Grim, saying:

Men redeð ȝit in ryme

þat he bigged Grymesby Gryme þat ilk time*.

Owing to all these allusions and especially to his mention of a »ryme» and a »sawe», it is evident that Robert of Brunne had at least heard speak of the English lay. But he did not consider the events told in it to be sufficiently authenticated as true history, since he found no allusions to Havelok occurring in any of the »stories of honoure» he consulted. And he ends the whole passage thus:

Sen I fynd non redy þat tellis of Havelok¹ kynde

Turne we to þat story þat we writen fynde.»²

¹ Hearne always reads Hanelok instead of Havelok.

² It is hard to say if the interpolation of the Havelok-tale in the Lambeth copy of Robert of Brunne's translation was caused by his additions to Langtoft, as preserved in the Inner Temple ms. The interpolator has omitted the above quoted passage expressing the author's doubts on the authenticity of the Havelok-tale, and inserted a version cognate with the Anglo-Norman versions.

4. *Ms. Cotton Calig. A. 2.*

This ms. contains, according to MADDEN, p. XXXVI; MICHEL. Havelok, p. XXVI, and SKEAT. E. E. T. S., p. XVIII; Cl. Pr., p. LI (*i*), a short historical compilation extending from Brutus to the reign of Henry VI. — The passage relative to Havelok runs as follows (fol. 107 verso): »Ethelwolde, qui generavit filiam de Haueloke de Denmarke, per quem Danes per CCCC annos postea fecerunt clamium Anglie. Some omission between the words »de« and »Haueloke« have rendered the passage incoherent. But it is evident that it is nothing else but an echo of the tradition which made Havelok one of the first Danes who conquered England, and placed him in the 6th century instead of in the 11th.

5. *Ms. Harley 63.*¹

Cf. MADDEN, p. XXIII; MICHEL. Havelok, p. XXIII; SKEAT, E. E. T. S., p. XVIII; Cl. Pr., p. LII. The passage relative to the Havelok-tale runs as follows (fol. 19): »And Adelstone lay at Wychestre, and the kyng of Denmarke sent unto hym an harowde of arnes to witte wheder he wold fynde a man to fight with Colbrande for the righ[t]e of the kyngdom of Northumbr', that the Danes had claymed before by the title of kyng Haueloke that wedded Goldesburghe, the kyngis daughter of Northumbre.»

In this passage the Havelok-traditions are confused with the tale of Guy of Warwick. The Danish king who sends the herald to Aethelstan and claims the throne by right of descent from Havelok, is Guthfrith, who was expelled from Northumberland in 927.⁴

¹ Cf. above, VI: 1.

6. *Robert Fabyan's Concordance of Historyes.*

*Robert*¹ *Fabyan* was a London merchant and sheriff (1493), who died about 1513. WARTON says of him that he is generally better known as an historian than as a poet.² His »Chronicle» or »Concordance of Historyes» extends from Brutus down to 1485 and contains several metrical insertions.³ It is based upon the »Englysshe Chronycle», the same collection of chronicles as that from which Caxton printed his book.⁴ Cf. MADDEN, p. XXXVI sq.; MICHEL, *Havelok*, p. XXXVIII; SKEAT, E. E. T. S., p. XIX; Cl. Pr., p. LII (l).

Fabyan alludes to the story of »Adelbryght and Edill», and identifies these kings with Aethelbert⁵ and Aella.⁶ But he is not inclined to attach any importance to the story, for he says: »Of thyse tway kynges y^e sayd Englysshe Chronycle tellyth a longe processe, the which, for I fynde noon auctor of auctorite y^e wrytith or spekyth of the same, I passe it ouer.»⁷

From these words it is clear that the author knew of no other version of the *Havelok*-tale than that preserved in the »Brute».

¹ Skeat, E. E. T. S., p. XIX calls him *John Fabyan*, but this was the name of his father. Cf. Warton, H. E. P. III, p. 152.

² H. E. P. III, p. 151 sqq.

³ Cf. T. Brink, *Gesch.* II, p. 562. — Wülker, *Gesch.*, pp. 176, 211 sq.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 113. — For mss. and editions cf. Warton, l. c. — Grässe, *Sagenkreise*, p. 107 sq.

⁵ A. S. Chr. A. D. 860 sqq.

⁶ A. S. Chr. A. D. 867.

⁷ The edition of Fabyan by Ellis, London 1811, has not been accessible to us.

B. 7. *Camden's Britannia.*

In his chief work, entitled »*Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ*» etc., *Camden* (1551—1623) gives no more credit to the story than *Fabyan* did to the one he found in the »*Brute*». In his description of *Lincolnshire* he briefly alludes to *Havelok* and *Grim* in the following words; »*Et inde Grimesby, quod Sabini nostri, qui quod volunt, somniant, à Grimmo mercatore sic dictum volunt, qui quòd Hauelokum regium Danorum puellulum expositum educauerat, fabellis decantatur cum Haueloc illo pupillo, qui in regis coquina primò lixa, & postea regis filiæ nuptijs ob heroicam fortitudinem honoratus, nescio quæ facinora gessit, illis dignissima qui anilibus fabulis noctem solent protrudere.*»¹

It is hard to decide if *Camden* in the »*fabellæ*» referred to alludes to one of the versions of the tale, or if his words, which are the only ones in his work bearing on the subject, are based exclusively on local traditions. He gives no details, and the contemptuous way in which he speaks of the story, renders it probable that he owed his knowledge only to sayings, still current at his time among the population of *Lincolnshire*. — Cf. *MADDEN*, p. XXXVII; *MICHEL*, *Havelok*, p. XXXVIII; *SKEAT*, *E. E. T. S.*, p. XIX sq.; *Cl. Pr.*, p. LII.

8. *Gervase Holles's Mss. Collections for Lincolnshire.*

This work is preserved in ms. *Harley 6829*, and extracts from it relative to the tradition of the foundation of *Grimsby* and to the *Havelok*-tale occur in *MADDEN*, p. XXXIX sq. and *SKEAT*, *E. E. T. S.*, p. XX sq.; *Cl. Pr.*, p. LII sqq.²

¹ *Camden*, *Britannia*, p. 484.

² *Holles's* account was printed in the *Topographer* V, 1789, but this has not been accessible to us.

Holles, who lived between the years 1606—1675,¹ is, in contrast to Camden, far from looking upon the traditions concerning the foundation of Grimsby and the Havelok-tale as altogether fabulous, and one section of his account he ends thus: »This is y^e famous tradition concerning Grimsby w^{ch} learned Mr. Cambden gives so little credit to that he thinkes it only illis dignissima, qui anilibus fabulis noctem solent protrudere.»² His account contains some details which are not found in any of the versions. *Grim* did not, according to the tradition as given by Holles, flee from Denmark with Havelok. He was out fishing in a little boat on the Humber, when he caught sight of another little boat approaching his. He rowed towards it and found a babe »purposely exposed (as it should seeme) to y^e pittylesse [rage] of y^e wilde & wide Ocean.» *Grim* took the child and nourished it. It grew up well, and finally married the daughter of the king of England. The child thus saved by *Grim* was *Havelok*, and he was afterwards very thankful to his fosterfather, enriched and helped him so that he could build the town of Grimsby, which is named after its founder and situated near the place where Havelok was saved. Holles continues by alluding to another tradition according to which *Grim* was no fisherman, but a merchant, and Havelok was engaged for some time as scullion in the king's kitchen. »But», says the author, »however y^e circumstances differ, they all agree in y^e consequence, as concerning y^e Towne's foundation, to which (sayth y^e story) Hauelocke y^e Danish prince afterwards graunted many immunityes».

¹ Cf. Dict. Nat. Biogr. XXIII, p. 167 a.

² Cf. above, p. 129.

Having thus given an outline of the story itself, Holles alludes to the meaning of the suffix -by, and mentions a few other place-names in which it is used. As this passage is not printed by Skeat, we quote it at length:¹

»First y^e etimology of y^e word (Grimsby) will carry a probability, y^e termination *By* signifying in y^e Danish tongue *habitatio*, a dwelling, so as I know noe reason why Grimsby should not impart y^e dwelling of Grime and receaue this denomination from him, as well as *Ormes-by* from Orme, and *Ketels-by* from Ketell, two Danish Captains under Canute, in y^e dayes of King Ethelred, which Captain Henry Skipwith affirmed unto me, and that he could prove itt, not only of y^e legend of Nun-Ormesby, but from other good and unquestionable records. Secondly that there was such a prince as Haue-locke take old Robert of Gloucester to prooffe, who speaks hime y^e sonne of Gunther or Gurthrum, Gutron or Gurmound (for all these foure names I fynde given him), Kinge of Denmark.»

In the last words Holles alludes to some lines which, according to MADDEN, p. XII sq., are found in *Weewer*: »Ancient Funeral monuments». Fol. London 1631, p. 749.²

Alluding to the battle of Aethandune³ Weewer says: »This batell and the baptising of Gutron and his Lords I have also out of an ancient namelesse ms. in my own custody, thus delivered:

¹ Madden, p. XL.

² We have not been able to procure any edition of this work.

³ A. S. Chr. A. D. 876.

»Than Gunter that fader was of Haueloke
 Kyng of Denmarke was than of mykle myght
 Areyd so than in Ingy lond wythe his floke
 Of Danes, fell, cruyll, myghty and wyght,
 Wyth whom the kyng full strongly dyd fyght
 And hym venquyste» etc.

Holles's reference to Gloucester is false, for these lines are not contained in his »Metrical Chronicle». The quoted lines seem, rather, to originate from Langtoft or Robert Manning of Brunne, tho whose references they bear a certain likeness. Cf. above, p. 82 sq. — As for Holles, he tries, further, to proof the authenticity of the tale by an allusion to »a great blew Boundary-Stone, lying at y^e East ende of Briggowgate, which retaines y^e name of *Hauelock's-Stone* to this day.» With this allusion may be compared the one made by Robert Manning, noted above p. 126. — Holles also refers to the circumstance that the inhabitants of Grimsby once were free from duty in the port of Elsineur in Denmark. — His last reference is to the ancient seal of the town of Grimsby, of which he gives a description.

9. Another *local tradition* was communicated to MADDEN by the REV. G. OLIVER.¹ It concerns the church at Grimsby, the broad tower of which was formerly flanked by four turrets, but of which only one is now left. From this tower *Grim* is said to have looked out once for some of his vessels. He saw that they were in danger of a hostile attack. In order to save his vessels he kicked one of the

¹ We deplore not having had accession to the »Monumental Antiquities of Grimsby», Hull 1825. by this author. — Cf. Madden, p. XII sqq. — Michel, *Havelok*, p. XLIII. — Skeat, *E. E. T. S.*, p. XXI; *Cl. Pr.*, p. LVI.

turrets into the sea, and was successful in hitting some of the enemy's ships. He tried with the next turret, but, being somewhat exhausted, he was not able to throw it as far, and it fell down in Wellowgate, where it now forms the boundary called Havelok's stone. Cf. above, p. 132. The third turret fell within the enclosure of the churchyard, where it formed a »stump-cross» and the fourth, resisting his efforts, is still left on the S. W. angle of the tower.

11. *The Grimsby Seal.*

The ancient Grimsby seal is copied in the Roxburghe volume and in Skeat's editions. It represents »Gryem»,¹ »Habloc» and »Goldeburgh», and Grim is of a gigantic stature in comparison with the two other figures. — The spelling »*Habloc*» of Haveloc's name is interesting, for it certainly forms a link in the chain: Welsh Abloye — English Havelok. Cf. above, p. 70 sq. — J. Hopkins, Esq., of Grimsby, furnished the E. E. T. S. with the copy of the seal, and delivered also the full description of it, which is printed in the editions.² To this description Mr. H. added some remarks on the Havelok-story, based in part on local traditions, for some of the details of this account are not found in the versions. Grim is said, according to the Rev. G. OLIVER's statement,³ to be a native of Souldbürg in Denmark. Here he led the life of a poor fisherman and a pirate. By a storm he was driven from the Danish coast into the Humber. Supported by other merchants, who, owing to the excellent harbour, joined him, he succeeded in

¹ Cf. C. R. I, p. 442.

² E. E. T. S., p. XXII sq., Cl. Pr., p. LIV sq. — Cf. Madden, p. XLIII sq. — C. R. I, p. 441 sq.

³ Cf. Madden, p. XL, note 1.

establishing a lucrative trade with Norway, Sweden and Denmark». Havelok, whom Grim saved, and who made his fortune at the court of the English king, and was recognized as the son of the king of Denmark, procured several privileges for his fosterfather. The English king made him governor of Grimsby through a charter that he gave him, and the Danish king granted the Grimsby merchants exemption from customs-duty in the port of Elsinour. According to the same tradition »Grim afterwards lived in Grimsby like a petty prince in his Hereditary Dominions».

MADDEN considered the Grimsby seal to be contemporary with the ms. of the English romance, *i. e.* to belong to the time of Edward I, for the characters in which the inscriptions are rendered fell into disuse after the year 1300. WARD states that it belongs to the second half of the 13th century.¹

11. The popularity of the Havelok-tale may be gathered also from the following verses, in which Havelok is ranked together with several of the most famous heroes of romance.

The verses form part of one of the numerous metrical imitations of *Guido delle Colonne's* »*Historia Trojana*», written in Latin in 1287 and copied (with several additions) from Benoit de St. More's »*Roman de Troie*».² This English translation or paraphrase is anonymous, and, according to MADDEN and WARTON, not written by Lydgate; the latter states that it is different from either of Lydgate's two poems, »*The storie of Thebes*» and »*The Troy Booke*».³

¹ Madden adds that his authority, the Rev. G. Oliver, »could find no document to which it was affixed of greater antiquity than Henry VII».

² Cf. Grässe *Sagenkreise*, p. 116 sqq. — T. Brink, *Gesch.* II, p. 90. — Gröber's *Grundr.* II: 1, p. 321.

³ Warton, *H. E. P.* II, p. 123, cf. the remark on the mss. — Cf.

The verses run as follows:

»Many spoken of men that romaunces rede,
That were sumtyme doughti in dede,
The while that God them lyff lente,
That now ben dede and hennes wente.
Off Bevis, Gy, and of Gauwayn
Off King Richard & of Owayn,
Off Tristram & of Percyuale,
Off Rouland Ris and Aglauale,
Off Archeroun and of Octauian,
Off Charles and of Cassibaldan,
Off *Hamelok*, Horne, & of Wade,
In romaunces that of hem ben made,
That gestoures often dos of hem gestes
At manegres and at grete festes,
Here dedis ben in remembraunce
In many fair romaunce.» etc.¹

C. 12. *Poems.*

Towards the end of the 16th century the Havelok-tale was made the subject of poetical treatment by the learned and romantic poet WILLIAM WARNER (1558—1609).

The tale forms one of the episodes of Warner's big historical poem, »*Albion's England*», which was originally (1586) pub-

T. Brink, *Gesch.* II, p. 233. The author doubts that there were any English imitations of Guido delle Collonne's »*Historia Trojana*» previous to Chaucer's »*Troilus and Cryseyde*». As this poem was written about 1380, our translation perhaps belongs to the 15th century.

¹ Cf. Madden, p. XLIX. — Warton, l. c.

lished in 13 books, but in a later edition of 1606 completed in 16.¹

Like the old chroniclers of the preceding centuries, Warner begins his English history with antediluvian times, and traces it from Brutus, who is introduced as the grandson of Aeneas and as the eponym of the English people, down to the time of James I. Warner,² whose poem enjoyed great popularity, was ranked together with Spencer and the authors of the »Mirror for Magistrates»,³ and esteemed by his contemporaries as one of the refiners of the English language.

It is very probable, as stated by MADDEN, p. XXXIII, that the idea of inserting in his poem a poetical paraphrase of the Havelok-tale was suggested to Warner by the occurrence of the tale in the popular »Caxton's Chronicle». Warner's poem, which was reprinted in Percy's »Reliques of Ancient English Poetry» from the edition of 1602, is entitled *Argentile and Curan*, and forms the 20th chapter of Book IV (cf. above, p. 2). In Warner's hands the old Anglo-Danish legend becomes a pastoral poem, which by no means closely follows its original. The author begins with an allusion to the Heph-tarchy, and introduces the two kings *Adelbriht* and *Edel* as good friends and joint kings of »Diria» (= Deira). Adelbriht dies, but in spite of his promise to keep the land for his daughter, *Argentile*, during her minority, Edel means to deceive her. *Argentile* grows up very fair. Her uncle refuses to give her to any of all her wooers. Among these is *Curan*, the son of »a prince in Danske» — who, in order to be able

¹ Cf. Warton, H. E. P. IV, p. 159. — Körting, p. 239.

² Cf. Percy, Reliques I, p. 412 sq.

³ Cf. Warton, H. E. P. IV, pp. 200, 341. — Wülker, Gesch., p. 234.

to see his beloved Argentile, disguises himself and lives in the king's kitchen. Edel, not knowing who he is, favours his love in all ways and himself wooes on Curan's behalf. But though Argentile knows of his birth she does not want to marry him, and escapes. Then Curan goes away from the court and lives as a shepherd. Next to him lives »a country wench, a neat-herds maid«, with whom he now falls in love. In a number of fine verses he talks of his love to her and of the quiet and free life of a shepherd. At last he tells her of his former love and gives a detailed description of her beauty. But when he adds:

»At Kirkland is my fathers court
And Curan is my name«

she begins to cry, and discovers to him that she is Argentile. They marry, and Curan conquers not only the inheritance of his wife from Edel, but also Bernicia, and is at last crowned king of all Northumberland.

The poem was written in alexandrines of fourteen syllables, but in Percy's reprint the verses are subdivided into stanzas.

PERCY believed the subject of this poem to be Warner's own invention, for, says he, »it is not mentioned in any of our chronicles.«¹ Warner has, as we have seen, altogether changed the tone of his original, and made love, that never has played any essential part in the Havelok-tale, the centre of his poem. Indeed, all that remains of the original tale is the names. The name »Kirkland« proves that Warner derived the episode from the »Brute«.²

¹ Percy, Reliques I, p. 413.

² Cf. above, p. 114.

The »*Albion's England*» was soon forgotten, with exception of the poem »*Argentile and Curan*». This was so much admired that another author, *William Webster*, soon after published a longer poem on the same subject. This was written in six-line stanzas and is, according to *PERCY*,¹ an indifferent paraphrase of Warner's poem. It was entitled: »*The most pleasant and delightful historie of Curan a prince of Danske, and the fayre princesse Argentile, daughter and heyre to Adelbright, sometime king of Northumberland*», etc., by *William Webster*, London 1617.

A second, anonymous, imitation of Warner's poem is the once common street-ballad of »*The two young princes on Salisbury Plain*». It was printed in the collection of »*Historical Ballads*», 1727, 3 vols. 12mo.²

¹ *Reliques* I, l. c.

² Neither of the two latter poems has been accessible to us.

VI.

The Relationship of the versions.

Gaimar's »*Estorie des Engles*» is extant in four mss.¹

1. *Royal 13 A. XXI*, ff. 113—150, from the beginning of the 14th century.²

2. *Durham Cathedral C. IV*, 27, ff. 94—138, from the first half of the 13th century.³

3. *Lincoln Cathedral A 1/12*, ff. 108—157 verso, from the end of the 13th century.⁴

4. *Arundel XIV*, *Heralds' college*, ff. 93—124 verso, 15th century(?).⁵

In the first three of these mss., as we have numbered them, *Gaimar's version* of the *Havelok-tale* forms part of the *Estorie* (ll. 41—818 of the printed editions). In the fourth ms. the »*Estorie*» only begins with l. 819, and the *Lai d'Haveloc*

¹ Cf. Gaimar I, p. XXXVI sqq., where also some fragments are annotated. — Descript. Catal. II, p. 86 sq.

² Ibid., p. X sqq.

³ Ibid., p. XVIII sqq.

⁴ Ibid., p. XXIV sqq.

⁵ Ibid., p. XXIX sqq. — Cf. Romania XXV, p. 497.

follows (a blank leaf being left at the end of Gaimar) on ff. 125 verso—132.

The Lai d'Haveloc is preserved also in another ms.:

5. *Phillips 3713*, from the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century.¹

The date of the anonymous Lai d'Haveloc is by some scholars assigned to the 12th century, by others to the 13th.²

To judge from the footnotes under the text and from those printed at p. 320 sqq. of the edition we have used, the variations between the mss. are, with few and occasional exceptions, of no importance to our investigation of the Havelok-tale.

The internal relations between mss. 1—4 have been studied by KUPFERSCHMIDT³ and by VISING.⁴ The latter, criticizing Kupferschmidt, arrives at different conclusions from his, and gives the pedigree of mss. which has been adopted by the latest editors of Gaimar.⁵

Gaimar wrote his »Estorie» between the years 1145—1151. and, consequently, none of the mss. are contemporary with the author himself.⁶

From the allusions Gaimar makes in ll. 6459 sqq. and 6530 sqq. it is evident that the »Estorie des Engles» forms only the second part of his work.⁷ The first section, now

¹ Gaimar I, p. XLVI, sq. — Cf. Romania XXV, p. 497.

² Ahlström, Lais-Litt, p. 124. Vising, Franska Språket, p. 26. — Gröber's Grundr. II: 1, p. 654.

³ Rom. Stud. IV, p. 412 sqq.

⁴ Vising, Dissert., p. 26 sqq.

⁵ Vising, Dissert., p. 28., Gaimar I, p. XLIII.

⁶ Vising, Dissert., p. 33 sq.; Franska språket I, p. 26. — Gaimar I, p. X.

⁷ Cf. T. Brink, Gesch. I, p. 174. — Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 113. — Gröber's Grundr. II: 1, p. 472 sq.

lost and probably entitled »Estorie des Bretons», was very early eclipsed by Wace's »Brut», which in all the mss. precedes Gaimar.¹

But the whole of the »Estorie» is not written by Gaimar himself. VISING proves clearly that ll. 1—40 are the work of some scribe who wanted to connect the chronicle with some preceding work.² The chronicle seems originally to have begun with l. 819, and the position of the Havelok-tale is, consequently, quite unconnected on both sides. It looks suspiciously like an interpolation. Owing to this »want of connexion either with what precedes or follows», MADDEN, already, conceived a suspicion against its authenticity. »The frequent references to Havelok, subsequently occurring in the Chronicle», seemed to him, however, »to indicate on the part of the writer a testimony to some preceding account given by himself».³ PETRIE was of the opinion that the question of the authenticity of the Havelok-tale in the »Estorie» could not be determined,⁴ and WRIGHT assumed the possibility that it might have been inserted by some one else than Gaimar.⁵ It is true, as KUPFERSCHMIDT remarks, that the references in the »Estorie» are no absolute proof of Gaimar's authorship — but we think that they render it very probable, for the references are made in addition to the statements of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and are found in no other chronicle except

¹ Cf. Roux de Lincy, Wace II, p. LXXII sqq. — Descript. Catal. II, p. 428 sqq. — Visings, Dissert., p. 31. — Gaimar I, p. XII, sqq.

² Visings, Dissert., p. 31. If ll. 1—40 refer to Wace's »Brut» or — perhaps — to the lost »Estorie des Bretons» by Gaimar, seems not be quite clear.

³ Madden, p. VIII.

⁴ Mon. Brit. Hist., p. 765, note b.

⁵ Wright, Gaimar, p. XII.

Gaimar's. A glance at the pedigree of mss.¹ will show that the interpolation was certainly extant already in *a*. The absence of it in the Arundel ms. is no proof against this hypothesis. The scribe of the mentioned ms. may have dropped it just because he found it in his original, and disposed of an other version of the tale, viz. the *Lai d'Haveloc*.² On the other hand we are quite convinced that the Havelok-tale was not contained in *O, i. e.* that it did not originally belong to the »*Estorie des Engles*«. The first section of the Chronicle makes the impression of being condensed — perhaps from Gaimar's »*Brut*« — especially in order to accommodate the transition from this or Wace's »*Brut*« to the Havelok-tale. It has nothing at all to do with what follows; the references to King Constantin as well as those made in the »*Estorie*« to the early Danish kings of whom Havelok was one, prove that the tale originally was inserted among the events which must have been told already in the »*Estorie des Bretons*«. If we assume that this was the case and, consequently, that the scribe of *a* transferred the tale from the now lost part of Gaimar's work to the »*Estorie des Engles*«, the connection of the tale with Constantin, who belonged to the *British* kings, and the references in the »*Estorie*« to Havelok seem sufficiently accounted for.³

¹ Cf. above, p. 140, note 5.

² That he made the chronicle begin with l. 819 and did not insert his version of the Havelok-tale in the place of the old version, seems to prove that the Havelok-tale, in his opinion, had little or nothing to do with the »*Estorie des Engles*«.

Kupferschmidt, *Rom. Stud.* IV, p. 417, adds some points of philological evidence that really Gaimar himself was the author. Cf. Vising, *Dissert.*, p. 29 sq.

The *Lambeth interpolation* is preserved in ms. *Lambeth 131*, fol. 76. As Robert Manning of Brunne's translation of Pierre de Langtoft's »Chronicle» was completed in 1338,¹ the interpolation was made after this time. SKEAT considers the handwriting to be »hardly later than A. D. 1400».²

The English *Lay of Havelok the Dane* is preserved in the Oxford ms. *Bodleian Laud Misc. 108*, fols. 204—219 verso. With regard to the date of this ms. opinions vary. HOLTHAUSEN³ with HUPE⁴ thinks it probable that it was written about 1330—1350, whereas SKEAT (1902) is of the opinion that it may be dated about 1310.⁵ The poem itself was considered by MADDEN to date back to about 1280. HALES⁶ proved that »Rokesburw» in the combination »Rokesburw al into Douere» (l. 139), by which the limits of the kingdom are given, could hardly have been denoted as the northern border fortress before 1296. He also alludes to the parliament held in Lincoln in 1301 and referred to in l. 1006, and finally to the fact that some lines in Robert Manning of Brunne's »Handling Sinne» are taken from The Lay of Havelok the Dane. Cf. Handl. Sinne, ll. 5811 sqq.⁷ with »Havelok», ll. 819 sqq.; ll. 5837 sqq.⁸ with ll. 911 sqq. Robert of Brunne probably also owes the allusion to the flame in ll. 5923 sqq.⁹ to »Havelok». —

¹ Cf. above, p. 125, note 4.

² E. E. T. S., p. XI, note.

³ Havelok, p. VII.

⁴ Anglia XIII, p. 192.

⁵ Cl. Pr., p. VII.

⁶ Atheneum, Feb. 23th 1889, No. 3200; p. 244 sq.

⁷ Morris and Skeat, Specimens, p. 58.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., p. 61. — Cf. p. 301.

The date of the poem may, consequently, be said to fall between 1301 and 1303.¹

The relationship of the Anglo-Norman versions and the Lambeth interpolation have been so thoroughly and clearly discussed by KUPFERSCHMIDT, and recently by PUTNAM, that it will be sufficient for us to set forth here the principal results obtained by their investigations (cf. above, p. 5 sq.).²

KUPFERSCHMIDT³ proves:

1. that neither of the two Anglo-Norman versions is dependent on the other;⁴

2. that these versions contain several corresponding passages, and a considerable number of identical lines,⁵ and

3. that they, consequently have had a joint source, which was, in all probability, an Anglo-Norman version in octosyllabic, rimed couplets.⁶

PUTNAM proves:

1. that the Lambeth interpolation has features in common with both Gaimar and the *Lai d'Haveloc*.⁷

2. that it stands alone in several respects, and cannot be derived from either of the two mentioned versions.⁸

¹ Holthausen, p. X.

² For details we must refer to the works quoted. To develop fully all the arguments in support of the pedigree set forth below, would almost require a volume to itself.

³ Cf. Romania IX, p. 408 sq.

⁴ Rom. stud. IV, pp. 424, 429.

⁵ Ibid., p. 425 sq.

⁶ Ibid., p. 429 sq.

⁷ Putnam, Lambeth, pp. 5 sq., 7 sq.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 8, 12 sq.

3. that it, consequently, originates from the same source as Gaimar and the *Lai d'Havelok*.¹

It is worthy of mention that there are several points on which each of the three mentioned versions corresponds with the English lay, and at the same time differs from the other two versions. Some passages in illustration of this may be added: the feast mentioned by Gaimar, ll. 757 sq.,² and in the English romance, ll. 2320 sqq.³ (cf. above, pp. 37; 53); the promise to marry Argentille-Goldeboru to the strongest man alive, mentioned in the *Lai d'Havelok*, ll. 217 sqq.,⁴ and in the English romance, ll. 198 sqq.⁵ (cf. above, pp. 21; 40, 47); Havelok's appetite is alluded to in the Lambeth interpolation, ll. 25 sq.,⁶ and mentioned in several places in the English romance, ll. 649 sqq., 788 sqq., 828 sqq., 927 sqq.⁷ (cf. above, pp. 21; 44 sqq.).

Such passages as these were probably contained not only in the lost French version but also in the original tale.

The only possible conclusion to be drawn with regard to the relationship of all the four (or five) versions is given in the following pedigree:⁸

¹ Putnam, *Lambeth*, p. 10 sq.

² Gaimar I, p. 31.

³ Holthausen, *Havelok*, p. 68.

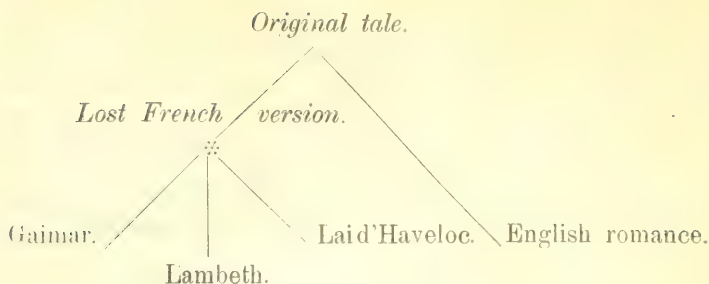
⁴ Gaimar I, p. 295.

⁵ Holthausen, *Havelok*, p. 7.

⁶ Skeat, *Cl. Pr.*, p. XLVI.

⁷ Holthausen, *Havelok*, pp. 21, 25, 27, 30.

⁸ Cf. Putnam, *Lambeth*, p. 16. — Holthausen, *Havelok*, p. IX.



In the pedigree set forth by KUPFERSCHMIDT the version of the Havelok-tale contained in the »Brute» is also introduced as depending directly on the lost French version.¹ We have above, p. 142 sqq., placed this version among those which are chiefly based on some of the complete versions. With two exceptions, the »Brute» follows Gaimar's version: the promise to marry Argenteille to the strongest man is not contained in Gaimar (cf. above, p. 145), and the name Kirkebain, or other corrupted forms of Birkabein, are due to the English romance.² Both exceptions prove that the author drew additional information from some other source than his chief one. If, as Kupferschmidt assumes, this source had been the lost French version, it would be almost impossible to explain the fact that Constantine is introduced in the »Brute», for he certainly did not occur in Gaimar's original, and the occurrence of him is an especially Gaimarian feature in the Havelok-tale. If, on the other hand, we suppose Gaimar to have been the chief source of the »Brute», the two exceptions are easily accounted for. There is nothing to prevent the passage relative to the promise having been drawn from the same source as the name Kirkebain, viz. from the English

¹ Rom. stud. IV, p. 430.

² Cf. above, p. 115.

romance — for it occurs, as we have remarked above, not only in the *Lai d'Haveloc* but also in this version.

HOLTHAUSEN suggests that »the English poem is probably a translation of a French one«, but he gives no reasons for this suggestion in the short »Preface« to his edition of the English lay.¹ In fact, it is very hard to understand why this should be so. It has been a common presumption with scholars that there is no original English romance before Chaucer's time, and it is a fact that a very great number of the Middle English romances *are* translated from French versions (which are often based, in their turn, on Anglo-Saxon originals). In many cases this can be *proved* by the existence of French versions which were composed previous to the preserved English ones, and by means of other evidence. But a similar presumption lacks proof with regard to *Havelok*, and there is no reason, but for the general want of early English originals, to assume that the original version was in French. Several reasons may, on the contrary, be adduced in favour of the thorough English or Anglo-Danish origin of the lay. First of all the tale itself is based on traditions which were current in England before the arrival of the Normans. It is hard to say why a poem should not have been actually written already towards the middle of the 11th century. The number of different facts stated in the English poem is so great that we are forced to assume that the majority were put in writing at a comparatively early period.

Several passages to which we have already called attention, p. 145, all occur in the English romance, whereas each of them is found only in one of the three other versions respectively.

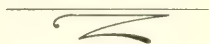
¹ *Havelok*, p. IX.

This proves that the version represented by the English lay is closer to the original tale, or to the tradition, than any of the other versions preserved.

Finally, besides the name Havelok, for which see above p. 69 sqq., and the two names Argentille, »Silver-elbow», and Orwain,¹ which are considered to be Welsh, all the names are English and Scandinavian (Kelloc?).

In short, as all this supports the probability that the English romance was not translated from a presumed French version, and owing to the fact that there is no convincing evidence to prove the contrary, it seems tolerably certain that the Lay of Havelok the Dane is an original, English romance.

¹ Cf. C. R. I, p. 432 sq. — *Revue Celtique* I, pp. 333, 338. — *Krit. Jahresb.* I, p. 257. — Whereas the stem of Argentille and Lat. 'argentum' are etymologically identical, this is not the case with Orwain and Lat. 'aurum'.



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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 4, l. 23: the »Préface» of this volume is a literal translation from Madden's »Introduction».

» 4, l. 27: for »Madden, and by» read »Madden, Michel, and».

» 11, note 2: for »Gröbers» read »Gröber's».

» 12, » 2: for »Gröbers, Pauls» read »Gröber's, Paul's».

» 17, » 1: add: A. Keller, Altfranzösische Sagen I, Tübingen 1839; Heilbronn 1876.

» 45, l. 1: for »be» read »he».

» 64, l. 3 (fr. bot.): for »it» read »it,».

» 85, note 4: for »Gimar» read »Gaimar».

» 103, » 1: for »Beamanoir» read »Beaumanoir».

» 119, l. 5: for »05» read »113».

» 136, l. 8: for »Spencer» read »Spenser».

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